

A HISTORY OF  
SHARVĀN AND DARBAND

in the 10th—11th centuries

*by*

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IN MEMORIAM  
VIRORUM CLARISSIMORUM  
J. MARQUART (1864-1930)  
et  
V. V. BARTHOLD (1869-1930)  
pio animo  
d.d.d.  
SCRIPTOR OCTOGENARIUS

## FOREWORD

The present book is chiefly based on the record of the ancient *Ta'rikh al-bāb* (fourth/eleventh century), another chapter of which—that on the Transcaucasian dynasty of the Shaddādids—formed the subject of my publication entitled *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953. It was hoped that the chapters on Sharvan and Darband (*Bāb al-Abwāb*) would see the light as part II of the same Cambridge Oriental series. Some changes in the regulations prevented the realisation of this hope, and I am deeply grateful to the London School of Oriental and African Studies which made arrangements for the publication of my new book by Messrs. Heffer, Cambridge. I wish to thank my friend and former colleague, Professor J. R. Firth, for having acted as my sponsor. I have had to add some general information to my text in order to make it self-supporting and independent, but its close connection with my history of the Shaddādids must be kept in mind.

As I was half-way through the proofs of this book, a crisis occurred with my eyes, and though my wife bravely stepped into the breach, reading distinctly every word to me and spelling out every letter of the Oriental words, the refraction between the visual and the auditive must be taken into account, and readers will, it is hoped, kindly overlook some possible minor discrepancies in spellings and perhaps some repetitions in the numerous notes meant to facilitate the explanation of thorny problems.

I regret that it has proved impossible to utilise all the cartographical material collected for the book, but as a substitute I reproduce here the map of Daghestan from my *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 1937, p. 359 (with some additions) and the map of eastern Transcaucasia from my *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 76. I have added two small sketches of the site of Darband and of the position of Ur-Karakh, essential for my commentary on the new text. I am grateful to Messrs. Heffers for having produced the book with great care, in conjunction with Messrs. Stephen Austin, Hertford, who are responsible for the Arabic text. I am full of admiration for the expert compositors and readers of both Presses.

March, 1958.

V. MINORSKY.



# INTRODUCTION

## §1. A HISTORY OF SHARVĀN AND DARBAND

The valuable work of the Turkish historian Ahmad ibn-Luṭfullāh, surnamed Mūnejjim-bashī ("Chief Astronomer"), has been known in Europe for over 100 years. Already Hammer<sup>1</sup> gave a full list of some seventy authorities, partly lost, which Mūnejjim-bashī used in his vast compilation. When in 1285/1868 the Turkish text of this work was published in Istanbul in three volumes, under the title of *Şahā'if al-akhbār*, it was realised that it was translated by Ahmed Nedīm from an Arabic original but, as the few copies of the original have survived only in Turkey, the fact that the Turkish translation<sup>2</sup> was only an abridgment omitting many important details of the Arabic version, was somehow overlooked.<sup>3</sup>

Here is the list of the MSS. of the original text according to the note kindly communicated to me by Prof. Mükrimin-Halil Yīnanç in September 1951.

(A). Top-kapī Sarayī, Ahmad III Library, No. 2954, in two vols., copied in 1116/1704 and said to be a copy of the author's own draft.

(B). Bayezid Ümūmi kütübhanesi, Nos. 5019-20.

(C). Suleymaniye, As'ad-efendi's collection, Nos. 2101-3.

(D). Nūr-i 'Osmāniye, Nos. 3172-2 (writing mediocre).

(E). The Catalogue of the library in Qayseri mentions a neatly written MS. in two volumes.

The original title of the work which we shall be using seems to be *Jāmi' al-duwal*, though *Şahā'if al-akhbār* also occurs in some of the MSS. enumerated. I have used in my present work the photographs of the relevant passages in (A) and (B) which I owe to the great kindness of H.H. Prince Youssouf Kamal, Professor F. Köprülü and Dr. A. Ateş.

<sup>1</sup> Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 1827-35, VII, 545-50.

<sup>2</sup> Though comprising  $858 + 722 + 750 = 2,330$  printed pages.

<sup>3</sup> E. Sachau, who in his 'Ein Verzeichniss Muhammedanischer Dynastien'. *Abhand. der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1923, 39 pp., gave a summary of the eighty-eight dynasties, which Mūnejjim-bashī adds to the 118 dynasties represented in S. Lane-Poole's work, says that he depended on the Turkish text, and even Prof. F. Babinger, in his painstaking and detailed work on Turkish historians, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen*, 1927, pp. 234-5, does not refer to the difference between Mūnejjim-bashī's original and its Turkish translation.

MS. (A), though not so calligraphically written as MS. (B), is much more correct.

One can judge of the completeness of the Arabic original in comparison with the Turkish abridgment by the following examples. The three chapters on the Musāfirids, Rawwādīs and Shaddādids, which in MS. (A) cover 21 pages (*circa* 651 lines), correspond to only 53 + 31 lines of the printed Turkish edition (II, 505–7), which omits the Rawwādīs altogether.<sup>1</sup> The chapters on Sharvān and Bāb al-abwāb, which form the subject of the present study, occupy 25 pages (*circa* 775 lines) of MS. (A), whereas the translation (III, 172–8) allots to them only 83 + 46 + 56 lines.

The particular value of the *Jāmi' al-duwal* must have been discovered by Turkish scholars, though I do not know to whom the priority belongs. I first heard of the Arabic text some 25 years ago from Mükrimin-Halilbey (now Prof. M. H. Yinanç) and Ahmed Zeki Validi (now Prof. A. Z. Toğan).<sup>2</sup>

Among the gems preserved in Münejjim-bashī's compilation are his copious quotations from a *Ta'rikk Bāb al-abwāb* (which I shall quote in abbreviation as *T.-B.*). Even in Münejjim-bashī's time the manuscript of this history of Darband, etc., was incomplete and one wonders whether the original will ever emerge from one of the libraries of Istanbul, or of Mekka where the compiler ended his days in 1113/1702.<sup>3</sup> It is clear that Münejjim-bashī abridged some of the information of the *T.-B.*, while he certainly added to it some paragraphs in the beginning (§§1–4) and at the end (§§48–60), using for that purpose such standard sources as I. Khallikān, Yāqūt and the *Jihān-ārā*.

Münejjim-bashī repeatedly states that the work which constitutes his principal source was compiled in Darband in *circa* 500/1106, but in point of fact the latest events recorded in it are of 468/1075. The very detailed accounts of the sharvanshah Farīburz and of Manşūr b. 'Abd al-Malik of Darband give an impression of a contemporary report but

<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Arabic words are more compact than their Turkish equivalents.

<sup>2</sup> Both these authors have quoted the chapters on Sharvān, see A. Z. Validi (Toğan), *Azerbaycanın tarihi coğrafiyası*, in *Azerbaycan yurt bilgisi*, 1932, No. 1, pp. 35–48; No. 2, pp. 1–15; No. 3, pp. 123–32; No. 4, pp. 145–56; also *Azerbaycan etnoğrafiyasına dair*, *ibid.*, 1933, No. 14, pp. 189, 441, and the article *Hazarlar in İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 1950, p. 402. M. H. Yinanç, *Selçuklular devri*, 1944, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> According to Alikhanov-Avasky, "towards the end of the nineteenth century" there existed in Zakatali in the possession of a Khalīl-bek of Ili-su a *Darband-nāma* in Arabic (together with an "excellent copy of its Azarbayjan-Turkish version") and this Arabic history "was much more extensive" (than the translation). This gives us an additional, though slender, hope that some day the source of Münejjim-bashī's abridgment may be traced somewhere in the Caucasus. See Barthold, in *Iran*, 1926, I, 52.

it covers only twelve years of the reign of Farīburz, who succeeded to the throne in 455/1063 and who must have ruled a considerable time after 468/1075 (see below p. 68). The author's sympathies seem to be with the local princes of Darband and against the turbulent aristocracy of the town, but in general his narration flows very dispassionately. His style, at least through the prism of Mūnejjim-bashī's abridgment, is matter-of-fact and reminds one of a secretary rather than of a learned mulla. He dislikes the Christian neighbours of Sharvān (chiefly the Georgians) but his resentment is more political than religious and he is equally hostile to the new invaders, the Turks.

Mūnejjim-bashī's quotations from the anonymous history<sup>1</sup> occur, so far as I could ascertain, in the chapters on the following dynasties:

- (1) the Musāfirids of western Daylam—last date 373/983;
- (2) the Rawwādīs of Azarbayjan—last date 463/1070;
- (3) the Shaddādids of Arrān (south of the Kur)—last date 468/1075;
- (4) the lords of Sharvān (north of the Kur)—last date 468/1075;
- (5) the amīrs of Bāb al-abwāb—last date 468/1075.

The present study is devoted only to the dynasties of Sharvān and al-Bāb (Darband) closely connected as neighbours and rivals. The other three chapters (Nos. 1–3) have formed the subject of a separate publication.<sup>2</sup>

The original quotations from the *History of al-Bāb* seem to begin during the governorship of Muhammad ibn Khālīd (§5). The details about the prevalence of the branch of Layzān over that of Sharvān may have been influenced by Maṣ'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 4–5, but for the rest the information of the *T.-B.* is genuine and most important. The author apparently utilised some local records which existed in Arrān, Sharvān and al-Bāb, and completed them with the help of local experts. The years between 400/1009 and 468/1075 lay roughly within the limits of the author's own experience and of the recollections of his immediate ancestors. He quotes a mass of carefully selected dates often accompanied by very short notes, similar to entries found sometimes on the fly-leaves of family Qor'āns. In other cases the episodes are vividly presented as they struck the imagination of the contemporaries.

As already said, Mūnejjim-bashī gives apparently only his *own* abridgment of the anonymous history and not the integral text of the fragments. Often too the copyists misunderstood the difficult names and left out

<sup>1</sup> Sakhāwī in his *al-I'lān* (see F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 1952, 385) refers to a local history of Darband written by a *Mamsūs* (?) al-Darbandī but gives no further details of the author.

<sup>2</sup> V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, Cambridge, 1952. [The text in my script has been re-photographed in Baku 1957.]

groups of words. But Münejjim-bashī was an expert epitomiser and we can feel confident that he neither altered his text nor omitted anything essential. One wonders whether the original chronicle was arranged in chronological order, so that under each year the events in al-Bāb, Sharvān and Arrān were recorded jointly. It may have been the editor's work to present the events in separate chapters devoted to separate areas. This assumption is favoured by some repetitions in the accounts of the three regions, but against it may be quoted such facts as the discrepancy in §8 (Sharvān) and §33 (Bāb al-abwāb) concerning the date of the disastrous campaign against Shandān.

In any case, the material which Münejjim-bashī borrowed from the anonymous history is abundant and fills in the total gaps in our knowledge of the history of Daghestan and the lands along the Kur and the Araxes. As soon as Münejjim-bashī loses the guidance of his important source his narrative on the later sharvānshāhs becomes visibly loose and uncertain.

The fresh material is not only accurate in the chronology of political events of which heretofore we had no conception, but it completes our knowledge of Caucasian ethnology and contains some very useful hints at the internal structure of the local principalities.

## §2. OTHER ARABIC SOURCES

While insisting on the importance of the *Ta'rikh al-Bāb*, we must not forget the other Arab contributions to the knowledge of the Caucasian lands. Most of them have been amply made use of in the commentary on the new text. We shall enumerate the principal among them.

1. BALĀDHURĪ'S *Futūḥ al-buldān* (the author died in 279/892), in its chapter on the conquest of Armenia (pp. 193-212), contains much carefully sifted material some of which is based on the Sasanian tradition. Very unfortunately Balādhurī quotes no exact chronological dates. The enumeration of Arab generals and governors goes down to the expeditions of Bughā-the-Elder under Mutawakkil.

2. YA'QŪBĪ'S *Ta'rikh* (the author died in 284/897), II, 215-9, 228, 262-7, 279, 287, 324-5, etc., is another outstanding and accurate source on the events in Armenia and Transcaucasia. It contains details not found in Balādhurī and is essentially valuable for the origin of the Hāshimid family in al-Bāb. Most of the relevant passages have been translated by Marquart in his *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 1903, pp. 448-63, with a detailed commentary.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Russian translation (without commentary) of the Caucasian chapters in Balādhurī and Ya'qūbī was published by the late Prof. P. K. Juze (a Palestinian Arab by birth, 1871-1942), Baku 1927.

3. ṬABARĪ'S *History* (down to 303/915) is much more desultory in its accounts of the events in the area in question (see its Index under *al-Bāb*).

4. IBN-RUSTA'S *al-A'lāq al-nafīsa* (beginning of the tenth century?) contains important paragraphs on the Khazars, al-Sārīr and the Alāns, ed. de Geoeje, pp. 139, 147-8 (see Annex IV).

5. MAS'ŪDĪ'S *Murūj al-dhahab* (completed circa 332/934) gives a detailed and very valuable description of Sharvān, al-Bāb and the whole of the northern and southern Caucasus. Mas'ūdī's information is entirely original and based on his personal research, although it is not clear how far he himself penetrated into the country which he describes. A translation of all the relevant passages contained in his ch. VII is given in Annex III.

6. IṢṬAKHRI'S report (towards 340/951) on Arrān, 'Sharvan and al-Bāb (including the glosses added at a later date), ed. de Goeje, 180-94, is reliable and rich in fresh details.

7. IBN-ḤAUQAL, though reproducing Iṣṭakhri's information, supplements it with very important data, for example on the Caucasian tributaries of Marzubān b. Muḥammad in 344/955 (ed. de Goeje, 250-5, ed. Kramers, 348-54),<sup>1</sup> and on the results of the Russian campaign against the Khazars, as described to the author during his stay in Gurgān in 358/969 (ed. de Goeje, 278-87, ed. Kramers, 389-98).

8. YĀQŪT'S account of al-Bāb (I, 437-42) completes Iṣṭakhri's report by a number of interesting details borrowed from some unknown source [A.D. 1225].

### §3. THE DARBAND-NĀMA AND LATER HISTORIES

The importance of the quotations from *Ta'rikh al-Bāb* preserved in Mūnejjim-bashī's *Jāmi' al-duwal* increases in comparison with the so-called DARBAND-NĀMA, which for a long time enjoyed considerable popularity as a source of information on the antiquities of Darband (*al-Bāb*) and Daghestan.

The first copy of a *Darband-nāma* which came to light was that offered to Peter the Great by the governor of Darband Imām-qulī during the occupation of the town by the Russians in 1722. We need not mention the early translations of the work made by incompetent interpreters.<sup>2</sup> The first responsible version in French was prepared by J. Klaproth in 1829.

<sup>1</sup> See now my 'Caucasica (IV)' in *BSOAS*, 1953, XVI-3, pp. 514-29.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest printed translation seems to be that found in the posthumous work of Dr. J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine . . . Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, Gotha and St. Petersburg 1798, pp. 67-119 (not available to me).

A much more meritorious work on the *Darband-nāma* was published in English by the Russian Academy in 1851.<sup>1</sup> The editor, Mirza A. Kazem-Beg,<sup>2</sup> was himself a native of Darband and grandson of a former vazir to the local ruler Fath 'Alī-khan. He was brought up as a strict Muslim but as a young man was converted to Christianity by the Scottish missionaries then established in Astrakhan (hence the English language of the translation). Kazem-Bek rose to professorship, first at the University of Kazan and then in St. Petersburg. In his Introduction he writes: "When I was a boy about 14 years of age, I well remember that the public reading of the *Derbend-nāmeḥ*, with explanatory illustrations and remarks, occupied for a few days the attention of that small circle of curious and semi-civilised young men of Derbend who—be it recorded to their honour—passed the tedious hours of their winter evenings in assembling (together) and amusing themselves with reading out of ancient MSS. popular stories, fictions and romances, concerning the antiquities of Asia, the exploits of its ancient heroes, and the enterprises of renowned adventurers." These recollections of his youth moved Kazem-Bek to undertake the work for which he was exceptionally well equipped.<sup>3</sup> Even now his *translation* of the text which he had at his disposal is quite satisfactory, but the text *itself* rouses many doubts.

The existing copies are either in Azarbayjan-Turkish or in Persian. They differ very considerably in style and composition, and Kazem-Bek had divided them roughly into two classes, when a new discovery made him reconsider his theories.<sup>4</sup> It seems that each of the translators and copyists enlarged and modified the text by introducing into it some local traditions with a number of anachronistic records and badly mutilated proper names.<sup>5</sup>

We need not go into all the discrepancies of these scant summaries. Most of the copies deal with the early days of the Muslim conquest, of

<sup>1</sup> *Derbend-nāmeḥ, or the history of Derbend*: translated from a select Turkish version . . . and with notes, St. Petersburg, *Mémoires des savants étrangers publiés par l'Académie des Sciences*, t. VI, 1851, 242 pp., 4°.

<sup>2</sup> Born in Rasht on 22 July 1802, died in St. Petersburg in 1870.

<sup>3</sup> Only one later translation of the *Darband-nāma* (into Russian) was published in Tiflis in 1898, under the supervision of the future general Alikhanov-Avarsky, himself a native of Avaria.

<sup>4</sup> Kazem-Bek, *l.c.*, p. XII, speaks of five MSS. in Turkish: one in Paris, one in Berlin, two at the Public Library (now Leningrad State Library) and one in his possession, and of two MSS. in Persian: one at the Public Library and one at the Asiatic Museum. After having completed his work Kazem-Bek found an important Turkish MS. at the former Rumiantsev Museum (now Lenin State Library in Moscow), which proved to be in a class of its own.

<sup>5</sup> Thus the famous conqueror of Daghestan Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik was transformed into "Abū-Muslim".

which we now possess the original accounts by Balādhuri, Ya'qūbī, Ṭabarī and Ibn-A'tham al-Kūfī. Kazem-Bek has found some parallels to his text in the "Persian Ṭabarī" and the "Persian Ibn-A'tham". However, the translation of Ṭabarī by Bal'amī is not so much an abridgment as a *rifacimento*<sup>1</sup> saturated with fabulous stories, as *vice versa* the Arabic original of Ibn A'tham recently discovered in Turkey differs from its Persian translation which omits many additional passages.<sup>2</sup>

The question which interests us is to know when, in what language and by whom the compilation known as *Darband-nāma* was originally produced. This subject was discussed by the late Prof. V. Barthold<sup>3</sup> who re-stated Kazem-Bek's conclusions and supplemented them with his own considerations.

In the Rumiantsev MS. the Turkish translator Muhammad Avābī Aqtāshī says definitely that his translation was made from a Persian original, of which his patron had requested him to simplify the difficult expressions in Persian and Arabic. According to Barthold, this patron, called Choban-bek, son of Shamkhal, a descendant (*oghul*) of Girey-khan, must have been a local Daghestanian prince.<sup>4</sup> Aqtash, from which the translator's *nisba* is derived, is the river on which stands the borough New-Enderi referred to by the translator.

The Persian original must have been lost, for again the *Darband-nāma* was re-translated into Persian by a certain 'Alī-Yār b. Kāzīm with a dedication to Shaykh-'Alī khan (son of Fath-'Alī khan) who in 1796 was appointed by the Russians "khan of Darband and Quba".

Thus we can go back only to a Persian redaction of the *Darband-nāma* which existed in the seventeenth century.

What is more interesting, and what only now we can appreciate, is the fact that the last fragment of the Rumiantsev MS. (see Kazem-Bek,

<sup>1</sup> The existing MSS. differ considerably in their contents, see Introduction to the French translation by Zotenberg, p. III; Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, p. 68-71, and Storey, *Persian Literature*, pp. 61-3. Cf. A. Z. Validi-Toğan, *Ibn Fadlans Reisebericht*, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Z. Validi-Togan, *l.c.*, pp. 296-8, and Akdes N. Kurat, 'Abu-Muhammad Ahmad bin A'sam al-Kūfī-nin *Kitāb al-futuḥ-u'*, in *Dil-Tarih dergisi*, Ankara 1949, VII-2, pp. 255-82.

<sup>3</sup> 'On the origin of the *Darband-nāma*' (in Russian). In *Iran*, I, 1926, pp. 42-58.

<sup>4</sup> The original Shamkhal Choban-khan died in 986/1578, and after him his descendants split into several branches. Avābī's patron "Choban-bek" must have been a descendant of Choban-khan's son Girey-khan but his title (*bek*) suggests that he was born of some *mésalliance*. [In fact the sons of the rulers born of "morganatic" marriages (*i.e.*, the so-called *chanka*) were usually called *bek*, see *Sbornik sved. o kavkaz. gortsakh*, 1868, I, 79.] Choban-bek lived apparently in the early seventeenth century. The copy of this earliest draft of the *Darband-nāma* bears the date of 1099/1687.

pp. 228-9),<sup>1</sup> while summing up the events of the years of "confusion", after the disruption of the caliphs' power, quotes names and events recorded in the Arabic *Ta'rikh al-Bāb*, as preserved by Münejjim-bashī. It is curious that the independent rulers of Sharvān and al-Bāb roused so little interest in the compiler whose pious feelings attracted him chiefly towards the glorious times of Islamic conquests and conversions of infidels. This may be an indication of the circles to which the author of the compilation belonged and appealed. However, even the pale shadows of events hinted at in some MSS. under the years 270, 290, 325, 437 and 456 are precious for establishing the connection of the Persian compilation with our *Ta'rikh al-Bāb*. As already stated, the last year of the Rumiantsev copy is 456/1064, and it is significant that the *Ta'rikh al-Bāb* ends thereabouts. Some additional details in the *Darband-nāma* also fit into the scheme of the *Ta'rikh al-Bāb* (for example, the explanation about the rights on the mineral production in Baku) and they will be quoted as illustrations in our commentary to the text.

However, the sober and matter-of-fact character of our Arabic extracts is very different from the somewhat nostalgic and sanctimonious tendencies of the *Darband-nāma*. These differences may be due to the pruning of the text by Münejjim-bashī, and it is also possible that in the defective copy which he used, the pious stories about the early times of the conquest had been lost, but we cannot go beyond these guesses. More characteristic are the divergent tendencies noticeable in *Ta'rikh al-Bāb* and the *Darband-nāma*: the former is definitely in favour of the ruling amirs, whereas the latter puts in evidence the particular rights of the local aristocracy ("the chiefs", see below, p. 123).

Another local history written in Arabic by a certain MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD RAFĪ is known to us only in an excerpt.<sup>2</sup> It is a collection of local legends relating to certain descendants of the Prophet's uncles who migrated to Daghestan from Syria (*Shām*). It supports the rights of these worthies and insists on the amount of levies due to them from various villages. It stresses the importance of the *shamkhāls* of Qāḍī-Qumukh said to be of the progeny of one of the Prophet's uncles, even the title of the *shamkhāls* being derived from the name of the village of *Khāl* (in

<sup>1</sup> Its last date is 456/1064. The last date in the "Dorn" MS. (Public Library), see Kazem-Bek, p. 138, is 270; in Kazem-Bek's own copy, *l.c.*, p. 136, the last years are 272, 290 and 320. Very likely the concluding pages of the MSS. from which the epitomes were prepared had been lost.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Kazem-bek as an appendix to his *Derbend-nāmeḥ*, pp. 205-23. A Russian translation was published by Baron P. K. Uslar, in *Sbornik sled. o kavkaz. gorisakh*, V, 1870, 1-30. This eminent Caucasian scholar was fully conscious of the inconsistencies of the text but hesitated to recognise its spurious character which, however, is only too obvious.



Arabic: "maternal uncle"! in Syria (*Shām*). It tries in every way to undermine the position of the *mitsals* of Avaria, as issued from infidels who were supported by the Rūs (*sic*). According to Baki-khanov (see Russian trans., pp. 6 and 50-4) the original source was written in 318/931; Muhammad Rafi' wrote in 712/1313 and the excerpt from his work was made in 1030/1617. These dates are doubtful and the *exordium* to Baki-khanov's MS., as reproduced in Kāzem-bek, pp. XXI-II, is involved. The reference to the destruction of Qumūq (or rather Qāḍī [\*Ghāzī]-Qumūq) by the Turks seems to indicate that the *copy* was made during the period of Ottoman expeditions to the Caucasus which followed Shāh-Tahmasp's death (A.D. 1577-1612). Cf. Hammer, GOR, 2nd edition, Ch. 38-43. On the whole the work of Mullā Muḥammad Rafi', or its later arrangement, is a tendentious political pamphlet to prepare the claims of the *shamkhāls* to paramount status in Daghestan. In fact, towards A.D. 1700 the star of Surkhay of Ghāzī-Qumūq reached its zenith and he even challenged Nādir-shāh.

A PSEUDO-DARBAND-NĀMA (written *circa* 1195/1780), quoted in Khanikov, 'Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase,' in *Jour. As.*, August 1862, pp. 81-6, follows similar lines; it gives mainly a list of villages in which the descendants of "Abū-Muslim" (i.e. \*Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik?) were settled in the Samūr basin.<sup>1</sup>

Of the later histories of Daghestan we may mention Colonel 'ABBĀS-ULI-AGHA BAKI-KHANOV's *Gulistān-i Iram* and ḤASAN-EFENDI AL-AḤQADARI's *Āthār-i Dāghestān*. The author of the former (1794-1846) was a scion of the ruling family of Bākū and, in the Russian service, became acquainted with ancient classical, Russian and western European sources. He did not succeed in bringing them into harmony with the Oriental sources, but these latter he has presented in a coherent digest with valuable additions for the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. The book was written in Persian, but is available only in a rough Russian translation printed in Baku in 1926. For the period which interests us, Baki-khanov uses the *Darband-nāma* and gives some new identification of place-names.

The second work was completed in local Turkish in 1307/1890 (published in Baku in 1902) and there exists an excellent Russian translation of it by A. Hasanov (Makhach-kala, 1929). For the earlier periods the author uses the *Darband-nāma* and Baki-khanov, but he is a better

<sup>1</sup> The *Akhī-namā* is apparently only of local interest for the Samūr basin (the region of the Lakz-Lazgi properly so called). See Baki-khanov, p. 48. I hear from L. I. Lavrov that a copy of this work has been discovered recently. It is very likely that Khanikov's pseudo-*Darband-nāma* is only an excerpt from the *Akhī-nāma*.

writer and some of his explanations are valuable as being based on a direct knowledge of the country.

For the history of Sharvān B. Dorn's two essays: (a) 'Versuch einer Geschichte des Schirwanschahe', in *Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Petersbourg*, 1840, pp. 523-602, and (b) 'Geschichte Schirwans . . . von 1538-1820', *ibid.*, 1841, pp. 317-434, are useful for later periods, but obsolete for the tenth-eleventh centuries. For Daghestan there exists an excellent "bibliographie raisonnée" by E. Kozubsky (in Russian), Temir-Khan-shura, 1895, 268 pp. Considerable progress in the study of local history has been achieved by the numismatic research of Prof. E. A. Pakhomov who published a 'Short course of the history of Azerbaijan, with an excursus on the history of the sharvanshahs in the eleventh-fourteenth centuries' (in Russian), Baku 1923; 'On the principality of Darband in the twelfth-thirteenth century' (in Russian), Baku 1930, and several other important articles (for example on the Pahlavi inscriptions on the walls of Darband).<sup>1</sup>

The best short summaries of local history are found in V. V. Barthold's articles *Daghestan*, *Derbend* and *Shirvan*<sup>2</sup> in the *Enc. of Islam*, but even in them the tenth and eleventh centuries present an almost complete blank.<sup>3</sup>

#### §4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The limited scope of the present publication does not admit of our going into the analysis of the extremely numerous names of ancient tribes quoted by the classical and Armenian sources<sup>4</sup> in the area covered by the *Tarikh al-Bāb*. We can only hint at some changes which had intervened between the classical period and the Muslim conquest.

<sup>1</sup> V. M. Sisoyev's 'Short Outline of the History of (northern) Azerbaijan', Baku 1925, is a clear summary of a more practical kind. On later works by I. P. Petrush-evsky, A. A. Ali-zadeh, etc., see below, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> The first two translated into Turkish in the *Islam Ansiklopedisi*. Cf. also Barthold, *The place of the Caspian provinces in the history of the Islamic world* (in Russian), Baku 1926 (valuable but brief).

<sup>3</sup> On several occasions J. Marquart announced his work *Historische Ethnologie von Daghestan* but it has remained unpublished and it could not be traced in Marquart's papers. See Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 492, 508, etc., and Minorsky, 'Essai de bibliographie de J. Markwart', *Jour. As.*, Oct. 1930, p. 322.

<sup>4</sup> See a complete collection of texts in Latyshev, *Scythica et Caucasica e veteribus scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis, cum versione Rossica*, 2 vols., 1890-1906 (the translation has now been re-edited with additions in *Vestnik drevn. Vostoka*, 1947-9). On the Armenian sources see Hübschmann, 'Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen', 1904; for the important list of East-Caucasian tribes contained in the Armenian Geography (eighth century?), see V. F. Miller, *Osetinskiye etyudi*, 1887, III, pp. 102-16, and Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, p. 401.

a. *The Albanians*

Our oldest information on Eastern Transcaucasia is based on the reports of the writers who accompanied Pompey on his expedition in 66 B.C. In Greek and Latin, the alluvial plain of the lower Kur and Araxes extending between Iveria (Georgia) and the Caspian sea was called *Albania*. The Armenian equivalent of this name is *Alvan-k'* or *Ran*, in Syriac *Aran* (pseudo-Zacharia Rhetor, XII, ch. 7)—from which the Islamic sources derived their *al-Rān*, or *Arrān*.

According to Strabo, XI, 4, 1-8, the soil of Albania was fertile and produced every kind of fruit, but the Albanians were inclined to the shepherd's life and hunting. The inhabitants were unusually handsome and tall, frank in their dealings and not mercenary. They could equip 60,000 infantrymen and 22,000 horsemen. The Albanians had twenty-six languages and formed several federations under their kings but "now one king rules all the tribes".<sup>1</sup> The western neighbours of the Albanians were the Iberians (*Iveria* being the ancient name of Georgia) and the Armenians. Caspia (probably the region near Baylaqān) also belonged to Albania.

According to Ptolemy, V, 11, Albania comprised not only the above-mentioned territories of Transcaucasia but extended north-east to comprise the whole of the region now called Daghestan along the Caspian coast.

One must bear in mind the distinction between the areas occupied by the tribes of *Albanian* origin and the territories actually controlled by the Albanian kings. The Armenians considerably curtailed the Albanian territories to the south of the Kur and Armenicised them. Only after the division of Armenia between Greece and Persia in 387 did the provinces of Uti and Artsakh (lying south of the Kur) fall again to the lot of the Albanian ruler. The earlier capital of Albania seems to have lain north of this river, whereas the later capital Pērōzāpāt (Partav, Barda'a) was built by the Albanian Vach'ē only under the Sasanian king Pērōz (457-84).

In the words of Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 117, Albania was essentially a non-Aryan country ("eminent unarisches Land").<sup>2</sup> In the fifth century

<sup>1</sup> The name of the king defeated by Pompey was *Oroises*.

<sup>2</sup> Both Hübschmann, *Armen. Grammatik*, I, 39, No. 63, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 119, saw that the title *Eranshahik*, which Moses Kalan. (III, ch. 19) gives to Sahl, son of Smbat (see below p. 13), at another place (I, ch. 27) is spelt *Aranshahik* and consequently is connected with Arran. One might add that the same author similarly spells the name of a local district, now Mets-Arank' (III, ch. 19) and now Mets-Irank' (III, ch. 20). It is possible that the Mihranids in order to increase their importance hinted at their noble Persian origin and encouraged the false etymology of their title. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 119, is entirely wrong in confusing

\**Layzān-shāh* with *Aran-shāh*. See below p. 76.

A.D. one of the languages of Albania (that of the Gargar-s near Partav)<sup>1</sup> was reduced to writing by the Armenian clergy who had converted the Albanians to Christianity in its Armenian form. According to Moses of Khorēn, III, ch. 54, this Albanian language was "guttural, rude, barbaric and generally uncouth". The forgotten alphabet, the table of which was found by the Georgian Prof. Shanidze in 1938, consisted of fifty-two characters reflecting the wealth of Albanian phonetics.<sup>2</sup> The Arab geographers of the tenth century still refer to the "Ranian" language as spoken in Barda'a.<sup>3</sup> At present, the language of the Udi, surviving in two villages of Shakki, is considered as the last offshoot of Albanian.<sup>4</sup>

Living as they did on open plains, the Albanians were accessible to the penetration of their neighbours and, at an early date, lived in a state of dependence on the Persian Empire and the Armenians. In 359 the Albanian king Uṛnayr took part in the siege of Āmid by the Sasanian Shapur II. In 461 the rebel king Vach'ē lost his throne and the country was apparently taken over by the direct Persian administration. Even under the Sasanians Sharvān, Layzān and other principalities of the northern bank of the Kur were completely separated from Arran. Towards the end of the sixth century a new dynasty, issued from a Mihrān<sup>5</sup> sprang up in Arran and was soon converted to Christianity.

<sup>1</sup> Besides the Gargars (whose name has survived in that of a river flowing south of Barda'a) we know of several other tribes in the northern zone near the Caucasian range. Pliny, *n.h.*, 6, 10, 11, mentions *Silvi* and *Lupenii* (in Armenian *Chilb* and *Lip'in*). The eastern ward of the borough of Jar (north-eastern Kakhetia), now called Tsilban, may have preserved the name of the former. In Balādhuri, 194, *sadd al-l.b.n* ought to be translated perhaps not as "a wall of sun-baked bricks" but rather as "the wall of the \**Libin* (*Lip'in-k'*)", as confirmed by I. Khurdādhbih, 123, who, among the Caucasian passes, refers to Bāb L.bān-shāh (*sic*). On the possible connection of *Lip'in* and *Filān* see below p. 101, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A. Shanidze, 'The newly discovered alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians', Tbilisi 1938 (in Russian with a Georgian and a French résumé) describes also seven epigraphic documents presumably in Albanian. According to the *Vestnik Ak. nauk S.S.S.R.*, 1949, No. 7, p. 98: "some Albanian inscriptions were found in 1948 for the first time on the territory of (the Soviet) Azarbayjan". These fragments of lapidary inscriptions have come to light during the building of the Mingechaur dam.

<sup>3</sup> One of the MSS. of Iṣṭakhri, BGA, IV, 405, refers to it as *sahla* "easy", which seems to be a mistake.

<sup>4</sup> In particular, it can be the remnant of the speech of the ancient Utii. N. S. Trubetskoy in *ZDMG*, 1930, p. \*111, expressed the opinion that the Chechen, Lak (Qumukh) and Udi form a group issued originally from the ancient Λέγοι (\*Λγγαί, cf. Strabo, XI, 5, 1, Arm. *Lek-k'*). To them he opposes the Andi-Avar-Samur group consisting of putative descendants of the ancient Albanians. This second group, according to Trubetskoy, seems to have infiltrated into the *Lek-Lak* territory and broken its unity.

<sup>5</sup> The family of Mihrān (of Rhages, Rayy) was of Parthian origin. The famous pretender Bahrām Chūbīn belonged to it.

Though the names of the kings are recorded in the local history of Moses Kalankatvats'i, III, ch. 19 and 22, the facts about them are fragmentary and confused. We must await the publication of the new translation by C. Dowsett. Albania suffered particularly from the invasions from Northern Caucasus, first of the "Huns" and then of the Khazars (see below p. 105).

Arrān surrendered by capitulation to Salmān b. Rabī'a al-Bāhili in the days of 'Othmān, see Balādhurī, 203, but the presence of the Arab amirs did not do away with the feudal rights of the local princes. The fact that the Mihranid Varaz-Trdat, who died in A.D. 705, paid yearly tribute simultaneously to the Khazars, the Arabs and the Greeks (Moses Kal., III, ch. 12), shows how uncertain the situation remained on the eve of the eighth century. The authority of the "kings" of Arran was restricted to local affairs and was mainly reduced to the southern bank of the Kur. We know, for example, that when Sa'īd b. Sālim (\*Salm) was appointed to Armenia by Hārūn al-Rashīd (cf. Ya'qūbī, II, 518), the town of Shamākhiya was founded by Shamākh b. Shujā', whom Balādhurī, 210, calls "king (*malik*) of Sharvān". Consequently Sharvān, on the northern bank, remained outside the administrative purview of Arran.

The revolt of Bābak (210-22/816-37) greatly disorganised the Arab administration, and, under the cover thereof, a significant change took place in Arran. The last Mihranid Varaz-Trdat II was murdered in A.D. 822. His title *Eranshahik*<sup>1</sup> was picked up by the prince of Shakkī Sahl b. Sunbāt.<sup>2</sup> In 853 many Armenian and Albanian princes were deported to Mesopotamia and this secured a firmer basis for the domination of the new Islamic dynasties. After the liquidation of the Sājids (circa 317/929) the system of direct appointments by the caliph collapsed and gave way to the hereditary domination of Muslim houses: the Hāshimids of Darband, Musāfirids of Azarbayjan, Yazīdids of Sharvan and Shaddādids of Ganja.

#### b. Iranian penetration

As we have seen, the original population of Arrān belonged to a special group unrelated to any of its great neighbours. However, the Persians penetrated into this region at a very early date in connection with the need to defend the northern frontier of the Iranian empire. Possibly already under the Achæmenids some measures were taken to protect the Caucasian passes against the invaders, but the memory of

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a more grandiloquent form of \**Aranshahik* (see above), perhaps with some hint at the Parthian origin of the Mihranids. See Minorsky, 'Sahl b. Sunbāt' in *BSOAS*, 1953, XV-3, 505-14.

<sup>2</sup> See below p. 21.

the fortification of the most important of them, Darband (in Armenian *Ch'or*, in Arabic *al-Ṣūl*, but usually *al-Bāb*) and of a series of "gates" (i.e. fortified passes), is traditionally connected with the names of the Sasanian kings Kāvāt (in Arabic: Qubādh b. Fīrūz, A.D. 488-531) and his famous son Khusrau (Chosroes, Kistrā) Anūshirvān (A.D. 531-79). A brief account of these works will be found on p. 86. Apart from such feats of military engineering, the Sasanians strove to reinforce their northern frontier by organising vassal principalities of local tribes and by settling in its neighbourhood large numbers of their subjects, chiefly from the Caspian provinces. The titles Ṭabarsarān-shāh, Khursān-shāh, Vardān-shāh, "the Lord of the Throne" (*sarīr*), etc., found in Muslim historians (cf. Balādhuri, 207), refer to the first class of indigenous vassals, though even in this case some tribal names may have in view not the aboriginal inhabitants but the aristocracy of outsiders superimposed upon them. It is curious that the grandfather of Mardāvīj (the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty and a native of Gīlān) bore the name (title?) of Vardān-shāh, which points to the existence of a Vard-ān tribe or family.<sup>1</sup>

The presence of Iranian settlers<sup>2</sup> in Transcaucasia, and especially in the proximity of the passes,<sup>3</sup> must have played an important rôle in absorbing and pushing back the aboriginal inhabitants. Such names as Sharvān, Layzān, Baylaqān, etc., suggest that the Iranian immigration proceeded chiefly from Gilan and other regions on the southern coast of the Caspian. In fact even in Roman times the presence of Daylamite mercenaries is attested as far as Pegamum in Asia Minor, and in the tenth century A.D. Daylam (i.e. the hilly part of Gilan, lacking fertility) became the prodigious reservoir of man-power from which the greater part of Persia and a considerable part of Mesopotamia, including Baghdad, were conquered.

The most obvious of the Gīlānian names in the region interesting us is *Layzān*, now Lāhij, which is definitely connected with the homonymous

<sup>1</sup> On the possible connection of the mutilated *Vahrārz-ān-shāh* see below p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Arabic sources have transmitted the Iranian terms for those settlers. Marquart restored Balādhuri's (p. 194) *Siyāsijūn* and *Sijūn* and Mas'ūdī's *Siyābija* as \**Sibāsiga*, from \**spasīg* "Dienstleute" (guards, watchers). In the new edition of Ibn-Hauqal (by Kramers) and in Yāqūt I, 438, the Arabic complex suggests some derivation from *nishāst*—"to seat, to settle someone". See *Hudūd*, p. 409. One of Yāqūt's sources, I, 438, says that the guards of the passes who received special endowments, consisted of people "brought from (various) lands (*nāqilat al-buldān*)" and of "men of confidence (*ahl al-thiqa*)".

<sup>3</sup> See the enumeration of the passes (*bāb*) in Balādhuri, 194-5, I. Khurdādhbih, 123, I. Faqīh, 286. According to I. Khurdādhbih the "gates" (*abwāb*) "are the mouths of the gorges (*shi'āb*) in Mt. Qabq". I. Faqīh says that the "gates" were so called because they had been built on the roads in the mountains, and that up to the Alān gate there were 360 castles.

Lāhijān in Gilan, see *Hudūd al-Ālam*, p. 407.<sup>1</sup> Similarly Baylaqān (probably \*Bēl-ākān) is to be linked up with Baylamān in Gilan (\*Bel-mān "home of the Bēl-s"), see Muqaddasi, 372-3, etc.<sup>2</sup> Sharvān itself ("place of the Shar-s", cf. Gurji-vān, Kurdī-vān in the same neighbourhood) must belong to the same series.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih, 118, and Ibn al-Faqīh, 303, refer to a town in the district of Rūyān (between Gilan and Tabaristan, see *E.I.*) called *al-Shirriz*, which may have been the metropolis of the contingent transplanted to Sharvān.<sup>4</sup> According to Ṭabari III, 1014, Lāriz and Shirriz, which his grandfather conquered, belonged to Daylam.

### c. Christian elements and influences

Of great importance in the life of the area under our consideration were the Armenians who after 190 B.C. incorporated the territory of Siunik' (also called Sīsakān)<sup>5</sup> and other districts in the highlands near Lake Sevan, and played a conspicuous part in the affairs of the region lying between the Kur and the Araxes, and even north of the Kur (in

<sup>1</sup> The identity of Lāyzān with Lāhij is secured by the name of Mt. \*Niyāl standing in its neighbourhood, see Mas'ūdī II, 69. Emigrants from Lāhijān must have been numerous for the name is attested in various parts of North-Western Persia. To the list quoted in *Hudūd*, 410, should be added Lāhī, north of Mt. Savalan, see Khanykov's *Map of Azerbaijan* (1863). The elements -ij, -iz in Caspian dialects correspond to the Persian suffix of origin (*nisba*) in -ī.

<sup>2</sup> One Baylaqān lay north of the Araxes and south of Barda'a (in the Mīl steppe), and the other north of the Alazan (in Georgian *Belokani*) near Jar. A third Baylaqān is referred to in Persian Kurdistan on the way from Daynavar to Sisar, see I. Khurdādhbih, 121, Qudāma, 213, Muqaddasi, 383. Circa 490-4/1097-1101 the clergy of Kerman rose against a heretic (shī'ite?) called *Kākā B.līman*. At that time Kerman was still full of Daylamites and the name Balī-mān (perhaps \*Bil-mān) may be connected with the toponymy of Daylam. *Tārīkh-i Afḍal*, ed. M. Bayānī.

<sup>3</sup> In early Islamic sources this name is usually spelt *Sh.rvān*, \**Sharvān* (supported by Sam'ānī, *Gibb Memorial series*, f. 332, and Yāqūt III, 282): cf. also the pun in one of Khāqānī's poems: *Sharr-vān* ("a place of evil") has become *Shīrvān* ("a place of lions"). Georgian sources confirm the reading *Sharvān*, see *K'art'lis-khovreba*, 1955, p. 344, etc. The spelling *Shīrvān* became generalised only about the sixteenth century but *shīr* may have been occasionally used as a popular etymology even in early times, see *Shīrān-* (or *Shiriyān*) -shāh in I. Khurdādhbih, and *Hudūd al-Ālam*, fol. 33a, line 17, *شیروان* and *شیروانشاه* (sic) but fol. 33b, line 2, *شیروان*. See now numerous examples for the pronunciation *Sharvān* in Sa'id-Nafisī, *Sharvān-Shīrvān in Armaghān*, Farvardīn 1327/1948, pp. 23-32.

<sup>4</sup> Both in *Shirr-iz* and *Lār-iz* (coupled with it in the sources), -iz is the suffix of origin (see above). *Shirr-iz* (?) is quoted very rarely and its vowels are uncertain but even now in Gilan Persian *hard* is pronounced nearly as *kīrd*. Besides, the Arabs often heard Persian *a* as *i* (*Tībrīz* for *Tabrīz*).

<sup>5</sup> See Marquart, *Ērānshahr*. 120-2, Henning, *BSOAS*, 1952, XIV-3, 512, approves of Lagarde's explanation of *Sī-sakān* "the Si of the Sakas", cf. *Si-uni-k'n* though the problem remains complicated.

Shakkī). After A.D. 387 these provinces were lost by the Armenians, but we have seen that the conversion of the Albanians to Christianity and the endowing of the Albanians with an alphabet were the work of the Armenians. Armenian settlers and cultural elements contributed to the further absorption of the Albanian nation. The Albanian and Armenian nobility freely intermarried, with the result that there appeared a mixed class of Albano-Armenian aristocracy. The later Armenian kingdoms of Ani and Vaspurakan had little influence in Eastern Transcaucasia<sup>1</sup> but the petty Armenian rulers of Siunik and Artsakh (south of Barda'a) played a considerable role in the affairs of Albania.

The other Christian neighbours of Albania, the Georgians, had to a large extent succeeded in preserving their statehood, but their attempts at expansion were noticeable chiefly along the northerly line Kakhetia-Shakkī. This latter territory (Shakkī), situated to the north of the Kur, had a dynasty of its own, which in the ninth century played some rôle in the affairs of Arrān, see below, p. 83.

The Georgians professed Byzantine Christianity and consequently were opposed to the Armeno-Albanian Monophysitism. Attempts to introduce the Greek (Chalcedonian) creed in Albania met with opposition. When the wife of Varaz-Trdat (d. in 715), with the help of the bishop of Gardaman, took steps in that direction, the Monophysite clergy rose against them and even invoked the help of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (d. in 86/705).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, politically the Greek Empire had much to attract the Albanians, hard pressed as they were by their non-Christian neighbours. Though at the time of the arrival of Emperor Heraclios in 624 the Albanian prince did not join him, for fear of the Persians (cf. Moses Kalan., II, ch. 11), local historians on several occasions record the close relations of the Albanians with the Byzantine empire to which they even paid tribute.

#### d. Northern invaders

The question of the ancient invasions into Eastern Transcaucasia from the North cannot be adequately treated in this place. We know that the Alans and other Caucasian highlanders were an essential part of the forces at the disposal of the Armenian Arshakid Sanesan who carved out for himself a kingdom north of the Kur in the neighbourhood of the Caspian (in the region later called *Masqat*) and opposed his brother (or relative) King Khosrov II of Armenia (316-25).

<sup>1</sup> Except under Ashot, son of Smbat (862-86), see R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 1947, 389-91.

<sup>2</sup> See also the Georgian Chronicle, tr. Brosset, I/1, 279, on similar propensities of a prince of Albanian origin in the ninth century (prince Ishkhanik of western Shakkī (?), whose mother was the Georgian princess Dinar).



The most important invaders from the northern Caucasus were the Khazars, a people probably belonging to a particular group of Turks, and at all events including a considerable number of other Turkish tribes. During Heraclius's struggle with Khusrau Parvīz of Persia the Khazars acted as the allies of the Byzantine emperor, and in 626 Heraclius met Ziebel (Silzibul?), the nephew of the Khaqan, under the walls of the besieged Tiflis. The Byzantines did not expand their dominions in Transcaucasia which remained at the mercy of the Khazars till the arrival of the Arabs. Balādhurī, 194, who confirms this situation, speaks particularly of Qabala (east of Shakkī) as belonging, or being occupied, by the Khazars (*wa hiya Khazar*). Some peaceful Khazars were brought to Shamkūr in 240/854, see Balādhurī, 203. A party of Khazars was settled by Marwān b. Muhammad between the Samūr and Shābarān. The devastating Khazar inroads under the caliphs Hishām (*circa* 112/730) and Hārūn al-Rashīd in 183/799, see Tabarī, II/3, 1530 and III, 648, must have also increased the number of Khazars in Transcaucasia.<sup>1</sup>

[We are far from having exhausted the list of northern invasions in Transcaucasia which must have left settlements in various parts of the country. In their rush towards Armenia and Asia Minor the Cimmerians may have left traces of their infiltrations. About the middle of the seventh century B.C. they were followed by the Scythians (Saka), one of whose centres must have been the province Σακασηνη (Strabo, XI.8.4-5), irregularly called in Arranian *Šaka-šēn* (the first *š* may have been influenced by the following *-šēn*, or by the aberrant Armenian pronunciation (Adonts). The most curious perhaps was the arrival in the middle of the seventh century A.D. of a group of Hungarians who became settled west of Ganja near Shamkhor (Shamkūr), see below p. 164, n. 6.]

#### e. *The Arabs*

The facts concerning the Muslim occupation of Transcaucasia will be dealt with in the commentary on our text and here we can add only a few general remarks.

Islamic geographers use the term al-Rān (\*Arrān) somewhat conventionally. A detailed definition of its territory is found in Muqaddasī, 374, who describes it as an "island" between the Caspian sea and the rivers Araxes and Kur (نهر الملك read: \*نهر الكر), but among its towns mentions both Tiflis and al-Bāb, as well as the towns of Sharvān. Ibn-Hauqal, 251, uses the term "the two Arrāns" apparently for the northern and the southern banks of the Kur. In practice, during the period which specially interests us (*circa* A.D. 950-1050), three main

<sup>1</sup> See now D. M. Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1954.

territories were clearly distinguished: Arrān to the *south* of the Kur, Sharvān to the *north* of this river, and al-Bāb, i.e. the town of Darband and its dependencies. On the lesser and intermediate areas see below pp. 77, 83.

Partav (of which Arabic Bardha'a, later Barda'a and Barda' is only a popular etymology, "a pack-saddle of an ass") was occupied in the days of Othman by capitulation. Although the local princes retained their lands, Barda'a, the capital of Arrān, became the spearhead and the centre of the Arab administration. Arab geographers praise its site, its extensive gardens and its abundance of various fruits.

Among the titles which the Sasanian Ardashīr conferred on local rulers Ibn Khurdādhbih, 17, quotes Shīriyān-shāh or Shīrān-shāh, which is probably a magnified honorific of the Sharvān-shāh. The ruler bearing this title submitted to Salmān b. Rabī'a in the caliphate of Othman, Balādhuri, 209. The building of the important centre Shamākhiya (Shamākhi) is attributed by the same author to al-Shamākh b. Shujā' (see above p. 13).

The earliest Muslim reference to a native of al-Bāb is found under the year 15/636: a certain *dihqān* of al-Bāb called Shahriyār, whose corpulence ("like a camel") struck the imagination of the Arabs, commanded a detachment of the Sasanian army and was killed in single combat with an Arab at Kūthā, near al-Madā'in, see Ṭabari I, 2421-2. When the Arabs reached al-Bāb (in the year 22/643) its governor on behalf of Yazdajird III was Shahr-Barāz—a relative of his famous namesake who conquered Jerusalem in 614 and for a few months ascended the throne of the Chosroes. This governor submitted to Surāqa b. 'Amr.<sup>1</sup>

After the conquest, al-Bāb became the base of Arab operations against their great north-eastern enemy, the Khazars, who thwarted their plans of expansion into Eastern Europe.<sup>2</sup> Many famous Umayyad generals, such as Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik and the future caliph Marwān b. Muhammad, won their laurels on the Khazar front, and a considerable number of Arab warriors and settlers were introduced into Eastern Trans-

<sup>1</sup> See Ṭabari, I, 2663-71, who also tells a fantastic story of a scout whom Shahr-Barāz sent to the wall of Gog and Magog.

<sup>2</sup> In fact the campaign of Marwān who in 119/737 reached the Volga (see Balādhuri, 208, Ibn al-Athīr V, 160, and in much more detail the Arabic text of A'tham al-Kūfi, see A. Z. Toğan, *Ibn-Faḍlān*, pp. 296-8), however victorious, produced no better results than the less fortunate Arab clash with Charles Martel at Poitiers (A.D. 732). The main facts on the Arab-Khazar struggles will be found in Barthold's article *Khazar* in *E.I.*, A. V. Togan's recent article *Hazar* in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, 1950, and in special works of A. E. Krimsky (left in MS. after the author's death in 1941) and of D. M. Dunlop, *Jewish Khazars*, p. 80. [I still doubt whether the river reached by Marwān was the Volga, or the Don.]

caucasia and especially into Darband,<sup>1</sup> just as Khazar prisoners and settlers appeared in Transcaucasia (see above p. 17).

With the advent of the Abbasids, the grip of the caliphs on the Caucasian frontier gradually weakened and our source dates the decay from the time of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). In 238/852 the expedition of Bughā al-Kabīr sent by the caliph liquidated the amir of Tiflis, Ishaq b. Ismā'īl (of Umayyad parentage), who entertained close relations with his non-Muslim neighbours and whose wife was a daughter of the ruler of al-Sarīr.<sup>2</sup> After Ishaq's death, Bughā attacked Ishaq's allies (the Šanār mountaineers) who inflicted a heavy defeat upon him. However, in the following years (852-5) Bughā dealt severely with the Armenian and Albanian princes, many of whom, with their families, were deported to Mesopotamia. Though, on the whole, his campaigns were tactically successful, the local life was thoroughly disorganised, and when the caliph's attention was absorbed by the war with the Byzantines, the central government's hold on Transcaucasia loosened.<sup>3</sup> The foundation (or restoration) of Ganja by the Yazīdid Muhammad, in 245/859, was the first symptom of the self-determination of a local governor. A parallel development in al-Bāb was the advent to power of the Hāshimids in 255/869. Under the Sājids,<sup>4</sup> and especially under Yūsuf ibn Abil-Sāj (288-315/901-28), an attempt was made to resume the tradition of energetic policy in Armenia and Transcaucasia,<sup>5</sup> but with Yūsuf's death the Yazīdids and the Hāshimids restored their *de facto* independence.

In the beginning of the tenth century the great movement of Iranian tribes (Daylamites and Kurds) withdrew from the caliph's control the whole of the western half of Iran.<sup>6</sup> The Daylamite Musāfirids who seized Azarbayjan successfully extended their rule into Transcaucasia up to

<sup>1</sup> Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik is said to have established 24,000 Syrian warriors at al-Bāb, after whom the four quarters of the town were named: Damascus, Hims, Kūfa, al-Jazīra, see Balādhuri, 207, and Bal'ami's version of Ṭabari, Lucknow 1291/1874, p. 721. On Maslama see now F. Gabrieli, 'Il califfato di Hishām', *Mém. de la Soc. Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie*, VII-2, 1935, 75-7, 79-81 (where use is made of the Caucasian passages in Tha'ālībī's *Ghurar al-siyar*, Bodl. d'Orv. X, 2, ff. 87r-105r), and Gabrieli, 'L'eroe Omayyade Maslama', in *Acc. Nazion. di Lincei*, January 1950, 22-39.

<sup>2</sup> See Tabari, III, 1416, and Thomas Ardžruni, III, §9.

<sup>3</sup> Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 408-24, gives a clear picture of these events. For the list of the deported notables see Thomas Ardžruni, tr. Brosset, 153, and S. Orbelian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, tr. Brosset, 103-5.

<sup>4</sup> They behaved more like vassals than like governors of the caliph, but they tried to support the earlier tradition of the caliphate in Armenia, Azarbayjan and Arrān.

<sup>5</sup> Towards 305/917 Yūsuf repaired the walls of al-Bāb, see below p. 70.

<sup>6</sup> The Caspian provinces, Khorasan and Sistan had been lost to the caliphate towards the end of the ninth century; see Minorsky, *BSOAS*, 1953, XV-3, 514-29.

al-Bāb<sup>1</sup> but only for a short time. In 360/970 the Kurdish Shaddādids ousted the Musāfirids from Arran, and thus Eastern Transcaucasia became divided into three autonomous Muslim principalities:

- (1) The Arab Ḥāshimids (of the Sulaym tribe) of al-Bāb, who became strongly mixed with local Daghestanian influences and interests;
- (2) The Arab Yazīdids (of the Shaybān tribe) of Sharvān, who gradually became integrated in the local Iranian tradition<sup>2</sup>;
- (3) The Kurdish Shaddādids of Arrān.<sup>3</sup>

For this period of local awakening, which forms a kind of interlude between the Arab dominion and the Turkish conquest, our *History of al-Bāb* is a source of outstanding importance.

\*                      \*

For the convenience of the readers my translation of the relevant passages from the *Ta'rikh al-Bāb* is accompanied by a detailed commentary on the paragraphs into which I have divided the text. This will be followed by special sections, in which I shall sum up the new facts on the geography of Sharvān and Darband, and on the political and social organisation of the two principalities, which we owe to the *Ta'rikh al-Bāb*.

In Münejjim-bashī's original, the history of the earlier sharvānshāhs (section I, subsection A) and that of the rulers of al-Bāb (subsection B) are immediately followed by an account of the later sharvānshāhs (section II, subsections A and B). This meagre chapter, which is based on entirely different material and needs only a very short commentary, will form Annex I.

In Annex II, I give the *résumé* of the scanty information we possess on the later amirs of Darband.

Annex III contains a revised translation of Mas'ūdī's important account of the Caucasus, *Murūj al-dhahab* (332/934), ch. XVII, which throws light on many points in the somewhat abrupt narrative of the *Ta'rikh al-Bāb*.

<sup>1</sup> In 344/955 Marzubān b. Muhammad suppressed a revolt near al-Bāb. See below p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> The founder of the dynasty was Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad and I myself (*Ḥudūd al-'Alam*, p. 405) have used for this dynasty the appellation *Mazyadid*. This practice, however, should be discontinued as leading to confusion with the totally different dynasty of the Shī'a rulers of Iraq (Hilla), who belonged to the Banū-Asad tribe and among whom were such well-known princes as Šadaqa (417-501/1086-1108) and his son Dubays (501-29/1108-35). Already Qaṭrān in his poems applies the term *Yazīdī* to the dynasty of Sharvān.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953.

In Annex IV two equally important chapters from Ibn-Rusta are quoted in translation.

In Annex V, I give the passage on the visit to Darband in 549/1154 by the author of the still unpublished *History of Mayyāfāriqīn*.

The passages of Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn-Ḥauqal referring to Transcaucasia, and the analysis of the data on Sahl ibn Sunbāt and some other rulers of Arrān will be found in my *Caucasica* (IV), see above p. 5, n. 1

I wish to repeat my thanks to His Highness Prince Youssouf Kamal (Cairo), H. E. Professor F. Köprülü (Ankara) and Dr. Ahmed Ateş (Istanbul) who came to my aid in procuring me the photographs of the work which forms the basis of the present book. I also express my gratitude to many friends and colleagues whom I had occasion to consult on my difficulties, or who kindly read my English copy before it went to press. I feel particularly obliged to my friend, the eminent Tunisian scholar Hasan Husnī 'Abd al- Wahhāb, for his advice on my text, and to my colleague al-Ḥajj D. Cowan, for the final revision of my copy.

## ADDENDA

*ad. p. 13.* In an additional passage of Moses Kalank., published by C. J. F. Dowsett, *BSOAS*, 1957, XIX/3, pp. 460-2, Sahl is said to have been a descendant of the pre-Mihranid dynasty of Zarmihr.

*ad. p. 15.* Districts called *Shirvān* exist: in Khorasan (north of Qūchān); south of lake Van (north of Si'ird) and on the right bank of the middle course of the Karkhā. However, the earlier name of the latter seems to have been *Sirvān*, see below p. 56. Similarly the upper course of the Diyāla (left affluent of the Tigris) even now bears the name of *Sirvān*, see Minorsky, *Abū Dulaf's travels in Iran*, Cairo 1955, p. 90.

# THE HISTORY OF SHARVĀN AND AL-BĀB

*Translated from the Arabic*

## ON THE KINGS OF SHARVĀN AND BĀB AL-ABWĀB IN TWO SECTIONS

SECTION I: *on the earlier of these kings who were the outgrowth (furū') of the 'Abbasids of 'Irāq.*

The reason why we have delayed giving an account of them till now is because we have noticed them only when our composition reached the stage at which we speak of the later (rulers of this region). We have divided them into two subsections.

### I

**Subsection A:** *on the kings of Sharvān each of whom was called sharvānshāh.*

They were ? in number and their capital was Sharvān. Their first appearance was in the year ? and they became extinct in ?. The duration of their reign was ? years.<sup>1</sup>

§1. The first of them who ruled Azarbayjan, Armenia, Arrān and Bāb al-abwāb (Darband) was YAZĪD b. MAZYAD b. Zā'ida b. 'Abdullāh b. Zā'ida b. Maṭar b. Shurayk b. Ṣalt (whose name was \*Amr) b. Qays b. Shuraḥbil b. Humām b. Murra b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān al-Shaybānī. He was a nephew of Ma'an b. Zā'ida, well-known for his liberality and generosity. The said Yazīd was one of the famous amirs and renowned heroes. He was governor (*wālī*) in Armenia but was dismissed by Hārūn al-Rashīd (A 1051a) in the year 172/788. In 183/799 Rashīd re-appointed him to Armenia, with the addition of Azarbayjan, Sharvān and Bāb al-abwāb. This happened after he had rendered good services and displayed praiseworthy energy in the victorious campaign against the Khārijite \*Walīd b. Ṭarīf<sup>2</sup> al-Shaybānī whom he killed in 178/794. \*Walīd was a fanatical Kharijite who rose against Harun in open revolt. His hosts in the Jazīra grew numerous and he became master of that

<sup>1</sup> All the dates are left blank in the two manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> MS. wrongly: Ṭarīf b. Walīd.

country. For a time he became an important personage and his pernicious influence in the country became so great that time after time he defeated Harun's army until Harun sent against him Yazīd b. Mazyad with some troops, and he handed to him Dhul-faqār, the scimitar of the Prophet and later of 'Alī b. Abī-Ṭalīb. Yazīd marched upon \*Walīd b. Ṭarīf and a succession of violent battles took place between them. Then they met in single combat and Yazīd overcame \*Walīd b. Ṭarīf and struck off his leg and then cut off his head. This happened at the Ḥadītha-of-Jazīra<sup>1</sup> in 178, or, as some say, in 179/795. Harun al-Rashid raised Yazīd to a high rank and in 183/799 appointed him governor to the aforesaid provinces. In 183/799 Yazīd proceeded thither and all the time his behaviour was excellent and just, until he died in Barda'a in Azarbayjan in 185/801. It is reported that while he was eating a repast a beautiful handmaiden was given to him as a present and he sent away the meal and had intercourse with her and died in her arms. This was in Barda'a and there he was buried.

Thus runs the report of Ibn Khallikān taken from *Kitāb al-aghānī*. And poets lamented Yazīd in eloquent *qaṣīdas*.

§2. Yazīd (B 720) left two sons, noble and renowned. One of them was KHĀLID b. YAZĪD who was the patron praised by Abū-Tammām al-Ṭā'ī, author of the *Ḥamāsa*, and the other, MUḤAMMAD b. YAZĪD, who was known for his extreme liberality and generosity: the word "no" was never heard from him. When his father died, Khālīd was governor of Mauṣil and he carried on in this office. Several amirs in succession were appointed by the caliph to Azarbayjan, Arrān and Armenia until in 205/820 Ma'mūn sent KHĀLID b. YAZĪD b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī to those provinces. The people of Shakkī revolted against him and killed his deputy (*'āmil*) in that place. Khālīd marched against them and, though they attacked him by night, he defeated them and killed many of them. They sued for peace and he granted it to them, on condition that they paid 500,000 dirhams yearly. Then he took hostages from them and left them. Then the \*Georgians<sup>2</sup> revolted and he went out to their country and fought there the Ṣanār. He defeated them and slew many of them. Then he took hostages from them and crucified them. Thence he proceeded to the region of Dabīl (Dvin) and remained there until he was dismissed (*ṣurifa*) about 220/835 after the death of Ma'mūn.

§3. Mu'taṣim gave those parts as a fief to the greatest of his *ghulāms* (servants?) Afshīn. By that time the rebellion of Bābak, the Khurramī

<sup>1</sup> By the estuary of the Great Zab.

<sup>2</sup> Spelt *Khazrān*, read: \**Jurzān*.

heretic, had spread in Azarbayjan and a large number (*‘ālam*) of people were killed there until Afshīn won a victory over Bābak about 225/839–40 and he was killed with various tortures in Surra-man-ra’a, as already mentioned in the proper place.<sup>1</sup>

§4. Khālīd remained without employment till the death of Mu’taṣīm in 227/842 and the succession of his son Wāthīq. The news reached the latter of disturbances in Armenia caused by the revolt of the ruler (*wālī*) of Tiflis, IṢḤAQ b. ISMĀ‘IL. Wāthīq summoned Khālīd and made him ruler of Armenia, Āzarbayjān and Arrān. He gave him 500,000 dinars for the upkeep (*arṣāq*) of the troops (*jund*) and 1 million dirhams by way of subsidies (*ma‘ūna*) and sent with him 12,000 horsemen perfectly equipped, with the order to fight (A 1051b) Iṣḥaq and to liquidate the trouble. Khālīd entered Armenia by the road of Arzan and the pass (*darb*) of Bidlīs and proceeded to Akhlāt, in the province of Armenia, where he remained some days. Various (Armenian) patricians and the standing army (*askar*) of Armenia joined him, 20,000 fighters in all. After some days he went forth with them against Iṣḥaq. He entered the province (*‘amal*) of \*Jurzān (Georgia) and went to a place called \*Javākh. There he fell ill and within a couple of days died. Thence he was carried back and buried in the Armenian \*Dabīl (Dvin)<sup>2</sup> belonging to the dominions of Sunbāt, son of Ashot, master of \*Armenia. This happened in 230/844, and some say in \*228/842.

§5. Khālīd left four sons: Muhammad, ‘Alī, Yazīd and Haytham. ‘Alī was with him when he died, and when his illness grew worse and he was on the point of death he named him his successor over the army. ‘ALĪ with the army entered the town of Dabīl, and there some abandoned him and some stayed on with him. The eldest son MUHAMMAD was absent for he was governor of al-Jazīra, and Wāthīq sent to him condolences on his father’s death and ordered him to take (his father’s?) place and to fight Iṣḥaq. Muhammad proceeded to those parts and assumed the governorship in 230/844–5. The troops (*jund*) rallied round him and with them he fought Iṣḥaq time after time, but was defeated and could not accomplish anything. He entered Barda’a and was dismissed in the same year in favour of Bughā al-Sharābī. Then Bughā left as his successor in those parts Ḥamdūya b. ‘Alī. After the death of Wāthīq in 231/846 (\*232/847), the country was ruled by Muhammad b. Yūsuf, then by the latter’s son Yūsuf b. Muhammad. The Armenian patricians (*baṭāriqa*) revolted and attacked him. Yūsuf counter-attacked them but was captured and killed with his hands tied (*ṣabran*).

<sup>1</sup> Bābak was captured in 222 and executed in 223/838.

<sup>2</sup> Mis-spelt *Arbīl* in A and B.



Then in the year 237/851 Mutawakkil sent (B 721) the Turk Abū-Mūsā Bughā-the-Elder with troops and he wrought great slaughter among the Armenians and their patricians. In the same year Mutawakkil granted as a fief to Muhammad b. Khālid the town of Bāb al-abwāb with its dependencies. In company with Bughā-the-Elder Muhammad went forth to fight Ishaq. After numerous battles Bughā vanquished Ishaq, killed him, crucified his body at the gate of Sughd<sup>1</sup> and sent his wife (*ahl*) and children to Mutawakkil. The revolt of Ishaq b. Ismā'īl b. Shu'ayb up to his execution lasted 35 years and, because of his mutiny, his children lost the governorship (*al-mamlaka*). Muhammad returned to al-Bāb, whereas Bughā spent the winter in the town of Dabīl and then fought the Georgians and Abkhazians in a number of battles. Each time he was victorious, slew many of them and carried away many prisoners and much booty. Then he fought (*ghazā*) the Alān and the Khazar (*Khazrān*) and was victorious over them and took poll-tax (*jizya*) from them all. With the help of the ghāzis of al-Bāb, Muhammad b. Khālid also fought the infidels bordering upon al-Bāb and Darband. Finally in 242/856, thanks to the exertions of Bughā-the-Elder, Azarbayjan, Armenia and Arrān were restored to him (i.e. to Muhammad).

In 245/859 (Muhammad) built the town of \*Janza (Ganja) in the province (*kūra*) of Arrān.<sup>2</sup> The reason was that, when he was in the neighbourhood of Jūbānt (Khūnānt?)<sup>3</sup> where there are three hills, he dreamed for three consecutive nights that a treasure was buried in the middle of one of the hills, and he heard a voice say: "Ascend it and stop thy horse there; and where the horse has struck its foot, order to dig, then remove what is there and with (the find) build a town and call it \*Janza ("treasure")." He acted accordingly and discovered three large kettles (*marājil*), one filled with dinars and the two others with dirhams. With this money he built the town of Janza and returned (A 1052a) to Baghdad where he informed the caliph of the treasure and the town. The caliph said: "I have no interest in the town but deliver to me the money found." Muhammad pledged himself (to pay) the money, on condition that the caliph should grant to him, and by inheritance to his children, the town, along with the well-known estates (*diyā'*) which are still called the *Khālidīyāt*. The caliph confirmed this grant and Muhammad returned to Janza. He gave up the governorship of Armenia and contented himself with the town of Janza and the revenue

<sup>1</sup> In Tiflis. In Georgian *Sagodebeli* "place of lamentations," which does not seem to have anything to do with Soghdians. See Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, in *J. As.*, 1930, pp. 60-2.

<sup>2</sup> Here seems to begin the direct quotations from the *T.-B.*

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Khūnan, half-way between Tiflis and Janza? According to Iṣṭakhri, 189, it stood on a huge mound and was also called Qal'at al-turāb. Or, Javākh?

from the estates. He died in the year (*blank*). His castle stood near the gate called \**al-Khaṣṣ* (?) and the ward (where it stood) is known as *maḥallat al-Qasr*.

§6. His brother HAYTHAM b. KHĀLID was governor in Sharvān. When in 247/861 disturbances broke out after the murder of Mutawakkil, Haytham became independent in Sharvān. He was fighting the infidels of the country of Sarīr (*arḍ al-Sarīr*). He became known as sharvanshah and after a time died in the year (*blank*).

He was succeeded by his son MUHAMMAD b. HAYTHAM b. KHĀLID who carried on his father's tradition of justice and war against the infidel (*ghazw wa jihād*). He also left exalted memories (*ma'āthir*) in those parts.

§7. After his death he was succeeded by his son HAYTHAM b. MUHAMMAD b. HAYTHAM, who led numerous expeditions against the infidel. He converted several villages into pious foundations. Their harvest was collected in the granaries which he had built in his capital. Then the grain was distributed among the needy members of the Marches of the Bāb and among the ghāzīs. As an amir, he was charitable, just and zealous in fighting (the infidel) and he lived long.

§8. Then his son 'ALĪ b. HAYTHAM b. MUHAMMAD became ruler. He made an agreement with the amir of al-Bāb (see §33) to attack (the infidels of) Shandān. A large number of volunteers and Qor'ān readers (*qurrā'*) from other places rallied to them and, when they reached the gate (*bāb* "the pass"?) of Shandān, a battle took place which went unfavourably for the Muslims. 'Ali b. Haytham and the amir of al-Bāb were taken prisoner together with 10,000 Muslims. The infidels divided the Muslims among the people of Shandān, the Sarīr and the Khazars. Those who fell into the hands of the men of the Sarīr were freed three months later without ransom. 'Ali b. Haytham and the amir of al-Bāb were also freed and sent back to their countries. But those who were captives (B 722) of the Khazars and of the people of Shandān were sold and only a few escaped. Among the infidels the people of Shandān were the worst (enemies) of the Muslims living in the March (*thaghr*) of al-Bāb. The said battle happened in 300/912.<sup>1</sup> 'Ali remained ruler, until in 305/917 he was opposed by a cousin<sup>2</sup> of his, ABŪ-ṬĀHIR YAZĪD b. Muhammad b. Yazīd b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, who was the lord of \*Layzān (spelt: *Īrān*).

§9. The reason was that when Haytham b. Khālid (§6) became independent (*istabadda*) in Sharvān his brother Yazīd b. Khālid became

<sup>1</sup> In §33 the date given is 297/909.

<sup>2</sup> A remote "uncle", for he belonged to an older generation. See p. 59.

independent (*istaqalla*) in \*Layzān. Haytham was called Sharvānshāh and his brother YAZID \*Layzānshāh. After a time Yazid died and was succeeded by his son MUHAMMAD b. YAZĪD whose rule lasted a long time, his prestige grew and his affairs prospered. After his death<sup>1</sup> his son ABŪ-ṬĀHIR YAZĪD b. MUHAMMAD became the ruler. He patiently waited for the opportunity to possess himself of Sharvān also. When 'Alī b. Haytham was weakened by his captivity and by the death of most of his men, Yazid took advantage of this and attacked (*kabasahu*) and captured him, as well as his son 'Abbās and his grandson Abū-Bakr b. 'Abbās, in Marzūqiya. He killed them all, except Abū-Bakr who escaped. Thus fortune (*ni'ma*) left the house of Haytham and was transferred to the house of his brother Yazid.

ABŪ-ṬĀHIR YAZĪD b. Muhammad b. Yazīd b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad b. Zā'ida al-Shaybāni occupied Sharvān in 305/917 and in 306/918 built the town of Yazīdiya in the country of Sharvan. He gave \*Layzān (A 1052b) as a fief to one of his two sons, Muhammad b. Yazīd. Abū-Ṭāhir's days lasted long and in 318/930 a great clash occurred between his son Muhammad (§11) and the amir of al-Bāb 'Abd al-Malik Hāshimi. Then these two made peace without any decisive victory for either side.

In 320/932 Muflīh, the slave of Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj fled to Yazīd's protection from the amir of Azarbayjan, Bāldūya (?). Yāzīd arrested him and surrendered him to Bāldūya in order to avoid trouble.

In 333/944 the people of al-Bāb rose against their amir Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hāshimi and expelled him from the country. They sent to the lord of Sharvan (Abu-Ṭāhir) Yazīd inviting him to come and take over the government. (Abū-Ṭāhir) Yazīd sent his son Ahmad to al-Bāb and they took the oath of allegiance to him as their amir. He remained there for some days and then they expelled him and re-installed Ahmad al-Hāshimi as a ruler. (Abū-Ṭāhir) Yazīd invaded the country-side (*sawād*) of al-Bāb and plundered it.

Soon after, the Daylamites entered Sharvan and Yazīd was forced to sue for peace with the people of al-Bāb and to ask them for help. He restored to them all (the booty) he had taken from them in Shābarān and the villages, as well as the dues from the oil-wells and the salt marshes (*rusūm al-naḥāṭa wal-mallāḥa*).<sup>2</sup> The people of al-Bāb helped him and he expelled the Daylamites from his country, after which he made peace with them too.

With them he made an agreement to raid the Rūm (Greeks) and Kurj (Georgians) and the other infidel kings.

<sup>1</sup> Circa 305/917, see end of this §.

<sup>2</sup> See Baladhuri, 210 (during the caliphate of Mansūr): *fa-ba'atha Yazīd ilā naḥāṭat arḍ Sharwān wa mallāḥātihā fa-jabā-hā wa-wakkala bihi*.

Abū-Ṭāhir's rule lasted some 32 years and he died in Rabī' I 337/Sept. 948. It is reported that he was poisoned by his vazir Ibn al-Marāghī.

§10. He was succeeded by his son MUHAMMAD b. YAZĪD who arrested his brother Ahmad b. Yazīd and put him in prison. He appointed his (own) son Ahmad to \*Layzān, and his other son Haytham to Ṭabar-sarān, where he (himself) used to rule in his grandfather's time.<sup>1</sup> For eight years Muhammad carried on the tradition of his ancestors in raiding the infidel until on Sunday, 21 Safar 345/4 June 956,<sup>2</sup> he died of small-pox (*jūdārī*), and it is also said that he was poisoned by his vazir Ibn al-Marāghī. The reason was that, when he was dying of small-pox, Ibn al-Marāghī hankered after royal power and was tempted by what he could not get (otherwise). He sent two of Muhammad's slaves to the place where Ahmad b. Yazīd was kept imprisoned with the order to murder him. This they did and concealed his body. After some days Muhammad recovered from his illness (B 723) and, on his health being restored, he ordered Ibn al-Marāghī to free his brother Ahmad from the prison, as a thanksgiving to God for his recovery. Ibn al-Marāghī feared for his life and gave him a poisoned potion which caused the death of the prince, as he had previously done with his father.

§11. Muhammad left two sons: Ahmad and Haytham, whereas his brother Ahmad, who had been strangled, left a son Abul-Haytham b. Ahmad. AHMAD b. MUHAMMAD had come to visit (\**iyāda*) his father on his sickbed and when the latter passed away, he became his successor. The nobles of the kingdom took the oath of allegiance to him, but soon after he fell ill and Ibn al-Marāghī sent him some medicine to drink into which he had mixed poison. Ahmad was about to swallow it, when his mother came in and, having some forebodings, prevented him from taking it. She took the medicine and putting some of it on to a piece of bread threw it to a cat. The cat ate it and died instantly. When Ahmad recovered from his illness, he sent his guards (*ghulām*) who entered Ibn al-Marāghī's house without being noticed and beat him to death with staves and cudgels.

When Ahmad had consolidated his power and got rid of the evil of his vazir, his brother Haytham became afraid of him. He too had come to visit his father's sickbed and (now) he fled to the region of the Lakz (Lazgi). His cousin Abul-Haytham b. Ahmad fled to Barda'a. He lived there for some time and then died and his body was taken to Kurdivān and buried there (A 1053a).<sup>3</sup> In that year too died Abul-Badr b.

<sup>1</sup> We know very little about Muhammad, grandfather of Muhammad b. Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd (§9).

<sup>2</sup> Which was a Tuesday.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Kurdivān which lies *circa* 12 km. south of Lāhīj (ancient Layzān).

Yazīd, the uncle of Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yazīd, and the latter was left in undisputed authority.

§12. In 357/968 his brother HAYTHAM left the country of the Lakz and took refuge with the sallār Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān al-Daylāmī. Together with him he penetrated into the territory of Sharvan and the sallār raided it and plundered it, as he did also with the countryside of al-Bāb. Then the lord of Sharvan, Ahmad, made peace with him and gave him money. The sallār left Sharvan and intended to carry Haytham with him but Haytham fled to al-Masqaṭ (Mushkūr) and took asylum with Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Hāshimī, the amir of al-Bāb. The latter treated him honourably and well (*aḥsana ilayhi*). He negotiated on Haytham’s behalf with the lord of Sharvan and requested him to bestow upon him a part of Sharvan, but Ahmad declined this and replied with threats. The lord of al-Bāb collected an army from the outlying regions (*aṭrāf*), and mostly from the Sarīr, and marching on Sharvan stormed Shābarān and raided and burnt it. (The invaders) carried away countless spoils from Shābarān (?) and its vicinity. On the way back, the people of the Sarīr entered al-Bāb one day before the amir, and disturbances broke out in the town. One hundred chiefs of the Sarīr were killed and all the booty which they had taken from Sharvan was looted (see §35).

Ahmad ruled over his country for some twenty-five years. He died in Dhul-Ḥijja 370/June 981.

§13. He was succeeded by his son MUHAMMAD b. AHMAD, who in 371/981-2 seized the town of \*Qabala from its lord ‘Abd al-Barr b. ‘Anbasa. Circa 372/982 he possessed himself of the town of Barda’a where he appointed Mūsā b. ‘Ali his lieutenant. In 373/983 he built the wall of the town of Shābarān. In 378/988 al-Tūzī captured by capitulation the town al-Bāb from its lord Maymūn b. Ahmad Hāshimī and expelled the latter. He (see §36) delivered the town to the lord of Sharvān, Muhammad b. Ahmad, who remained in it for a number of months directing its affairs. Then one of Maymūn’s *ghulāms*, Bālid (B. *Bāldū*?) by name, set upon him in the government building and struck him on the back of his head and wounded him with a battle-axe (*ṭabarzan*). The *ghulām* fled to his master Maymūn who was in Ṭabar-sarān. The men of the lord of Sharvan took their wounded master to Sharvan and amir Maymūn re-entered the town of al-Bāb. After some time Muhammad recovered but meanwhile his lieutenant in Barda’a Mūsā b. ‘Ali openly revolted and had the *khutba* read in his own name without the name of Muhammad (B 724).

In 380/990 the people of al-Bāb rose and expelled their amir Maymūn. They brought in the lord of Sharvan who rebuilt the citadel, fortified it

and garrisoned it with his men. After this he returned to his capital and died there in Ramaḍān 381/November 991, after a reign of eleven years eight months and twenty-one days.

§14. After him the government passed to his brother YAZĪD b. AHMAD. Amir Maymūn recaptured the town of al-Bāb and destroyed its middle (*al-wasṭānī*) wall, only one year and five months after it was built. In 382/992 there was a violent war between the Sharvanians and the *Shakarī*<sup>1</sup> in the rustāq of Qabala in which Musaddid b. Ḥabashi, vazir of the lord of Sharvan, was killed and with him perished 400 horsemen belonging to the nobles of the Sharvanian army. In 388/998 Yazīd b. Ahmad entrusted all the affairs of his state to 'Abd al-'Azīz and 'Abd al-Ṣamad, sons of 'Abbas of Barda'a, and took decisions only on their suggestions. In 389/999 the sharvanshah Yazīd fought 'Abd al-Barr b. 'Anbasa (see §13), lord of the castle \*Gurzūl, and took the latter from him.

Later in the same year he fought the lord of al-Bāb Lashkarī b. Maymūn over (the ownership of) the estate (A 1053b) Z.rqīya (or Rizqīya?). The issue went against the Sharvanians. Lashkari advanced on Shābarān but the Sharvanians fought him at its gate and those of al-Bāb suffered an ignominious defeat. Lashkari's brother Abū-Naṣr b. Maymūn was captured. The lord of Sharvan imprisoned him and, after the peace, he remained his hostage. After the death of Lashkari in 391/1001, the people of al-Bāb requested Yazīd to surrender Abū-Naṣr, but he declined to do so saying: "I want to marry him to my daughter and I shall do to him this and that, on the agreement between you and me that I shall build (rebuild?) the citadel of al-Bāb and that of Šūl (\*Chur)."<sup>2</sup> This was declined by the people of al-Bāb and Yazīd killed Abū-Naṣr without any guilt on the latter's part. Abū-Naṣr was in the castle of Shābarān and the sharvanshah buried him near its gate. This happened in 392/1002 and the people of al-Bāb proclaimed Abū-Naṣr's brother Manṣūr. The sharvanshah continued to fight him and the war between them went on with varying fortune (*siḡāl*). In 410/1019 the people of the March (*thaghr*) arose and, having expelled amir Manṣūr from the town, surrendered it to the sharvanshah Yazīd b. Ahmad. He repaired the citadel and garrisoned it with his troops, but the lord of the Sarīr helped Manṣūr and the people of al-Bāb also favoured him. Thus Manṣūr entered al-Bāb in 412/1021 and took over the citadel

<sup>1</sup> \**Al-shākhiriya* (with a long *ā*) would mean the "mercenaries," but I strongly suspect that we should read \**Shakawiya* "the people of Shakki." The same mistake is found in the chapter on Arrān.

<sup>2</sup> *Šul*, in Armenian *Ch'or*, in Greek *Tζούρ*, is but another name of Bāb al-abwāb (Darband).

from the Sharvanians. Then he proceeded to Shābarān and the Sharvanians fought him, but neither side was victorious and the enemies returned to their homes.

In 414/1023 the people of al-Bāb expelled Manṣūr from their country which they entrusted to the sharvanshah, who restored the citadel. In Ramaḍān 415/November 1024 Manṣūr re-entered his country and after twenty days recaptured the citadel.

In 416/1025 Haytham b. Ahmad, brother of the sharvanshah Yazīd, died in the "Estate of Muhammad" in Tabarsarān. In the same year violent fighting broke out between the *sarrājiya*<sup>1</sup> and the sharvanshah.

In the same year the sharvanshah's son Anūshirvān b. Yazīd, who was his lieutenant in Yazīdiya, rebelled against his father. At that time the father had gone with his womenfolk to the castle (*qal'a*) Gurzūl for amusement and hunting. The son, profiting by the occasion, went into open revolt and was followed by a large crowd of riff-raff (*ambāsh al-nās*). He imposed a contribution on his father's vazir 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abbās,<sup>2</sup> seized his property, looted his house and put him into prison. Then his followers began to quarrel and they repented of what they had done in following him. In secret they sent an invitation to his father pressing him to return (B 725). Yazīd hastily moved (homeward) and the population opened the gates (of the town) and forsook his son for him. The rebellious son fled to the castle Kāstan (\*Gulistan?) to seek security in it but the vazir followed him, caught him on the way and handed him over to his father. The latter kept him in prison for some days and then let him die of hunger and thirst. The sharvanshah Yazīd b. Ahmad died in 418/1027 after a reign of about thirty-seven years.

§15. He was succeeded by his son MINŪCHIHR b. YAZĪD, who in 420/1029 went to fight the people of al-Bāb over the estate of Mūjak-ābād belonging to Masqat. He was defeated and in 421/1030 the people of al-Bāb raided (the dominions) of the sharvanshah and ruined many places in his territory.

Later in the same year the Rūs entered Sharvan and the sharvanshah Minūchir met them near Bākūya (Baku). Many of the Sharvanians were killed and Ahmad b. Khāṣṣkīn,<sup>3</sup> one of their notables, lost his life. Then the Rūs went up to<sup>4</sup> the river Kurr and Minuchihir closed the Araxes (*al-Rass*) in order to stop their progress, but they drowned a party of Muslims. Later the lord of Janza (Ganja) Mūsā b. Faḍl made them

<sup>1</sup> The Saddlers' party, the people of a place Sirāj, or descendants of \*Surāḥa?

<sup>2</sup> See above, §14.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Khāṣṣ-tekīn, which would be a combination of a name popular in Northern Caucasus with a Turkish (Khazar?) title.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣa'idū ilā nahr Kurr* (sic).

disembark (*akhrāja-hum*). He gave them much money and took them to Baylaqān, whose inhabitants had revolted against him (A 1054a). With the help of the Rūs he captured Baylaqān and seized and killed his brother 'Askariya. Then the Rūs quitted Arrān for Rūm and thence proceeded to their own country.

In 423/1032 the people of the Sarīr and the Alāns (cf. §38) made an agreement, raided Sharvan and took Yazīdiya by force. There and in other parts of Sharvan they killed over 10,000 people and stayed ten days digging the earth and extracting from it the money and goods which the inhabitants had hidden in it. When their hands were full of Muslim booty, they went back to their country, but on their reaching the Wooden Gate (*Bāb al-ḥashab*)<sup>1</sup> the people of the March of al-Bāb attacked them, barred the roads and the defiles to them, and killed a great many of them—(a slaughter) the like of which has not been recorded. They took from them all the Muslim property, animate and inanimate, which they had carried off from Sharvān. Only a small party, including the lord of the Alāns, escaped with their lives. Again in 424/1033 the lord of the Alāns came to take his revenge on al-Bāb but this time too, with God's help, he was defeated.

In 425/1034 the sharvanshah Minūchihr was treacherously murdered in his house after a reign of seven years. The murderer was his brother Abū-Manṣūr b. Yazīd. The reason for the murder was that Abū-Manṣūr was afraid of the sharvanshah and was hiding from him. Then one night he entered Yazīdiya, when the inhabitants were off their guard, and sent (a message) to his brother's wife, Sitt,<sup>2</sup> daughter of Faḍl, by name. She had an inclination for Abū-Manṣūr and he let her know of his position and his arrival at the house of one of her *ghulāms*, as she had directed him. On being informed the woman sent him one of her entourage with a kitchen-box. She made him sit in the box and he was brought into Yazīdiya. When he came to her house, she sent for her husband Minūchihr inviting him to come and showed him a letter from her brother Mūsā b. Faḍl, lord of Arrān. Minūchihr was engaged in reading the letter, and as he looked at it and was explaining it to her, suddenly from the farther end of the house there emerged Abū-Manṣūr with a naked sword (in his hand). Minūchihr asked: "Who has let thee into my house?", but he did not finish his speech when Abū-Manṣūr smote him on the back of his head with his sword, and he was about to repeat the blow when his sword slipped from his hand, because of the fear which had seized his heart. Then the accursed wife gave orders to her handmaidens to complete the murder. Then they (?) had Minūchihr wrapped up in

<sup>1</sup> But A has: *Bāb-ḥ.sh.b* (without *al-*) suggesting perhaps some personal name.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently her personal name.



rugs (*ziliya*) while Abū-Manṣūr went out and had the gates of the castle shut.

§16. ABŪ-MANṢŪR 'ALI b. YAZĪD (B 726) b. AHMAD ascended the throne in 425/1034, gave orders for the burial of his brother and after the prescribed period<sup>1</sup> married his widow in Rabī' I 426/January 1035. Having ousted 'Abd al-Malik, amir of al-Bāb, from his territory, he occupied al-Bāb, rebuilt the citadel and garrisoned it with his men. He left there as his lieutenant his vazir Manṣūr b. Musaddid,<sup>2</sup> and he himself returned to his capital. But 'Abd al-Malik suddenly overpowered the Sharvanians in al-Bāb, killed the vazir and re-entered the town. He also occupied the citadel by capitulation (*amān*) and those who were in it returned to Sharvan. Then 'Abd al-Malik made peace with the sharvanshah and married the latter's sister Shamkūya (Shamākūya?), daughter of Yazīd. On witnessing the agreement between the two amirs, the chiefs<sup>3</sup> of al-Bāb had fears for their security. So they attacked ('Abd al-Malik) and killed his vazir. 'Abd al-Malik fled to Sharvan. Then the chiefs dispatched two of their elders (*kabīr*) to call him back, but the sharvanshah seized the envoys and put them in fetters. After this he helped the amir to recover his principality. Abū-Manṣūr continued to rule till he died in 435/1043 after (A 1054b) a ten years' reign.

§17. He was succeeded by his brother QUBĀD b. YAZĪD b. Ahmad. In 436/1044 a discord arose between the amir of al-Bāb and the chiefs who attacked him and captured his wife \*Shamkūya (spelt: *Shakmūya*) whom they sent to her brother the sharvanshah Qubād. Qubād imprisoned her in a castle, then freed her and in 437/1045 restored her to her husband.

In this year (437?) the sharvanshah Qubād built round the town of Yazīdiya a strong wall of hewn stones, and fixed on it iron gates through fear of the Ghuz Turks. Qubād died on Thursday, 24 Safar 441/28 July 1049<sup>4</sup> after a reign of six years.

§18. He was immediately succeeded by his brother's son BUKHT-NAṢṢAR 'ALI b. AHMAD b. YAZĪD b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yazīd, who ruled until he was deposed. His uncle SALLĀR b. YAZĪD,<sup>5</sup> set up (as king), captured the citadel and expelled Bukht-Naṣṣar from

<sup>1</sup> *Ba'da inqīdā' al-ḥadda. B: al-'idda.*

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the son of the Musaddid mentioned in §14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ru'asā.* Here for the first time we meet with this important class of the Bāb community.

<sup>4</sup> 28 July 1049 was a Saturday.

<sup>5</sup> Sallār is here a personal name, and not a title as in the Musāfirid dynasty. However, the use of such a name might point to some family link with the Musāfirids.

it. (The latter) fled from the Sharvan territory, but Sallâr sent a detachment in pursuit which overtook him and killed him near Baylaqân.

In 445/1053 Sallâr conquered the castle of Mâlû (\*Mâlûgh?). He stormed it and then fortified it and placed in it a garrison, provisions and arms. Beside it he built a strong town (*madîna*) in which he settled people and built a cathedral mosque. Thus Sallâr carried on fighting the infidels and protecting the country from their wickedness and harm. He died on Sunday, 18 Şafar 455/20 February 1063<sup>1</sup> after having ruled some fifteen years.

§19. After him ruled his heir-apparent FARĪBURZ b. SALLĀR b. Yazîd, in whose charge all (the) affairs were even in his father's time. In Rabi' I 455/March 1063 the lord of Arrân Shâvur b. Faḍl entered Sharvan and stormed the castle of Qūylamiyân<sup>2</sup> and placed his garrison in it. In the same year he returned and raided Sharvan, brutally plundered and ruined it and drove away the flocks and herds. The Sharvanians, who fought him, were defeated, while many of their notables were taken prisoner and their property looted. Thence Shâvur went to pitch his tents at the gate of Yazîdiya where he captured his daughter, wife (*ḥarîm*) of the late Sallâr, with all the money and (heavy) baggage belonging to her. Then he went home to Arrân but returned for the third time in Rajab (455)/July 1063, and stayed at the village of Sa'dûn burning crops, villages and estates. The sharvanshah sent his son Afrîdûn, accompanied by Anûshirvân b. Lashkari, to the Sarîr to ask its ruler, who was his grandfather (namely, his mother's father), for help. But he obtained nothing from him and (B 727) came home after three months.

In Muharram 456/January 1064 the lord of Arrân Abul-Aswâr Shâvur b. Faḍl entered Sharvan (for the fourth time). He captured K.r and \*Qatrân and took Ḥamavân (*B: Mâwân*). Then he went back leaving in Sharvan some of his troops with certain of his amirs, after he had exacted 40,000 dinars from the country. The sharvanshah Farîburz made peace with him in Rajab/June-July 1064 and Shâvur restored Qūylamiyân (?) to him, after having obtained (a further?) 40,000 dinars from him.

In 457/1065 Farîburz collected his army and with it raided the villages of al-Bâb looting and ruining them. While he stayed at \*Mihiyâriya in Masqaṭ, the people of al-Bâb fought him at the Qal'abân<sup>3</sup> bridge and he (?) slaughtered a great many of them. The cause of these events was that the people of al-Bâb with their chiefs had revolted against their amir Manşûr b. 'Abd al-Malik and murdered him, and this Manşûr

<sup>1</sup> Which was a Thursday.

<sup>2</sup> Qavîlmiyân, Qūylambân? Hardly containing the Turkish element: \*Qoylî.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps different from Qalâbâd mentioned in §20.

was a cousin (namely, the son of the paternal aunt) of Fariburz and was living in constant peace with the latter. Now Fariburz arose as his avenger and killed many of the chiefs (in?) al-Bāb, looted their property and drove away their herds, after which he went home (A 1055a).

On the last day of Rabi' II 457/9 April 1065 HURMUZ b. MINŪ-CHIH R b. YAZĪD passed away in the estate Irsī in Ṭabarsarān and was buried at that place by the side of his maternal uncles.

In the same year Fariburz with his army returned to Masqaṭ, pitched his tents on the bank of the Sammūr and in the later part of Rajab/early July 1065 sent his raiding parties (*sarāyā*) to Darband (*bāb al-balad*). The people of al-Bāb were hard pressed: they freed his paternal aunt Shamkūya from prison and sent her to him, accompanied by the doctors of Islam, and with her property and (heavy) baggage, and Fariburz returned home.

Then the chief-of-chiefs of al-Bāb Mufarrij appealed for help to the lord of the Sarīr and the latter went forth with some Sarīrians to help him. With them Mufarrij went to besiege Shābarān belonging to Sharvan. He was met by those of the regular army (*'askar*) of the sharvanshah who were in it and by the inhabitants who fought him and gained a victory. They captured Mufarrij, wrought havoc among the Sarīrians and captured their heavy baggage. Then the people of al-Bāb met,<sup>1</sup> and the chiefs agreed to surrender the town to the sharvanshah. The latter rebuilt the citadel and strengthened it with men and (stores of) provisions. The amir of al-Bāb 'Abd al-Malik b. Lashkarī betook himself to Khaydāq and sharvanshah Fariburz appointed his son Afrīdūn to the Bāb and sent him there on the last day of Safar 458/30 January 1066. The people of al-Bāb met him and brought him into the town with much honour and he came to stay in the citadel.

In Jumādā I of this year/April 1066 Fariburz became angry with the people of his capital Yazīdiya and let the infidel \*Georgians<sup>2</sup> set upon them. The \*Georgians looted them and seized the doctors of Islam, the chiefs and the notables who were there. The sharvanshah ordered some of them to be executed with their hands tied (*ṣabran*), some others to be crucified and others again to be imprisoned, and requested them to pay the *kharāj* for the past years.

§20. In this year the Turks entered Sharvan. They raided it, looted the settlements of the Kurds and carried away a large booty of property, animate and inanimate. The sharvanshah spent much money to make the Turks leave Sharvan but on 1 Muharram 459/22 November

<sup>1</sup> Lacuna in B.

<sup>2</sup> A: *Kh.r.riya*; B: *Khūziya*. I think \**Jurziya* is more likely than \**Khazariya*, unless by the latter some local colony of Khazars (Qabala?) is meant.

1066 the Turk Qara-tegin came to Sharvan for the second time, being accompanied by Mamlān b. Yazīd b. Muhammad, paternal uncle of the sharvanshah. Qara-tegin pitched his tents at the gate of Yazīdiya and laid siege to it. Then he raided its lowlands and highlands, devastated the country, wrought great slaughter among the population, drove away cattle and took away women and children, making of Sharvan "a desolate plain" (*Qorān*, XX, 106). Thence he descended upon Bākūya and acted there as in Yazīdiya. When the position became difficult the sharvanshah sent his studs (*hashar dawābbihī?*) consisting of over 4,000 mares to Masqat.

In Ṣafar 459/January 1067 the sharvanshah seized a number of the people of Yazīdiya with the *hājib* of Lashkarī b. R.ḥmān<sup>1</sup> and crucified some of them.

Then the behaviour of Qara-tegin became a succession of looting, crucifying, murdering, destroying and burning on the tract stretching from Bākūya towards Shābarān (B 728) and he encamped in the neighbourhood (of the latter). He sent his army to raid the villages and they made prisoner both Muslims and (their) allies (*mu'āhidīn*), kidnapped their women and children and burnt their homes. The Turks went to the hills and then swooped down on Masqat; they drove away the studs (?) of the sharvanshah and returned to Shābarān.

Then Qara-tegin went back to besiege Yazīdiya for the second time. Matters grew difficult for the sharvanshah because reinforcements consisting of some 2,000 Turkish warriors had reached Qara-tegin. Wishing to hoodwink the sharvanshah they sent a message to him saying: "the Sultan has sent us to help thee and to drive Qara-tegin from thee". Outwardly, they arrested Qara-tegin and Mamlān and requested the sharvanshah to come out to them, so that (A 1055b) they might hand over the two prisoners to him. However, he did not fall into the trap and did not come out. Then they freed those two and united against the sharvanshah.

The latter devised a means for repelling them. He secretly sent (someone) to the *hājib* of the Sultan, who (meanwhile) had arrived a second time, and gave him 6,000 dinars that he should hand over to him his uncle Mamlān b. Yazīd whom he wished to kill. The (*hājib*) agreed to the plan and invited Mamlān to a feast. Mamlān was in

<sup>1</sup> Something has gone wrong with this name. *A* gives حاجب الشكرى بن رحن "the hajib of Lashkarī, son of RḥmN (sic)". The only Lashkarī known about this time was Lashkarī b. 'Abd al-Malik, prince of al-Bāb (killed in 446/1054). *B* has حاجب الشكر بن دحق "the hājib of the army Ibn(?) DḥMQ." No such military rank seems to be known otherwise. (DḥMQ might be restored as \*DUKHMAQ, though such a Turkish name is not likely in Sharvān).

Qalābād in a strong position but came out and they ate and drank. Mamlān got drunk and asked the *ḥājib* for permission to return to Qalābād. This was granted, but the sharvanshah had sent three of his courtiers, namely, his cousin (the son of his maternal uncle) Lashkarsitān,<sup>1</sup> his servant (*khādim*) Shād-tekīn and his *ḥājib* Nāmdār b. Muẓaffar who lay in ambush on Mamlān's way. When Mamlān, in a state of drunkenness, came by, they set upon him and murdered him in the most cruel way during the night of Friday-Saturday, the 6 Rabi' II 459/24 February 1067.<sup>2</sup> His body was taken to Yazīdiya and buried there.

Then the Turks descended from Yazīdiya towards the banks of the Kurr<sup>3</sup> with the intention of crossing it with their loot. They built a bridge of boats and thus made their crossing without any harm (to their belongings).

In Rabi' II 459/February 1067, the Turk El-basan (?), master of Qazvīn, sent some of his trusted men to the sharvanshah to collect the tribute which he had agreed to pay, namely 30,000 dinars yearly, in order to ward off the evil of the Turks.

§21. In Jumādā II 459/April 1067 J.rkh.srī (B: *J.rj.rī*), son of K.rkī (Giorgi?), rebelled openly against the sharvanshah. With some troops he marched on<sup>4</sup> Shakkī and seized the castle of Daskarat al-Ḥusayn (?). In it he quartered his army with his son and his brother, but finally gave it to the lord of Shakkī \*Akhsartān, son of \*Gagīq. The sharvanshah collected his army and went to recover that castle but had no success and returned to Yazīdiya crestfallen.

In this year Qaymas and Qara-tegin with their Turkish cavalry came to the sharvanshah, and he gave a daughter of his uncle Qubād in marriage to Qara-tegin.

In Sha'bān/June 1067 Lashkarsitān (§20), son of the maternal uncle of the sharvanshah, was killed near the gate of Qabala by some people of Qūnī.

In Shawwāl/August 1067 the Turk Qaymas suddenly died in Sharvan and was buried in Yazīdiya. Some said he was poisoned.

In Dhul-qa'da/October 1067 the paternal aunt of the sharvanshah, Shamkūya, daughter of Yazīd, mother of amir Manṣūr, died. She passed away in Julistān (Gulistān) and her body was carried to Shābarān to her father's mausoleum (*mashhad*).

§22. Towards the end of this year 459/1067 the Seljukid Sultan Alp-Arslan proceeded to Arrān and the sharvanshah Farīburz waited

<sup>1</sup> See §21. Possibly of the Shaddādid family.

<sup>2</sup> Which was a Saturday.

<sup>3</sup> Misspelt: *al-Lakz*.

<sup>4</sup> B: "on Shakkī".

on him with presents and offerings (*al-hadāyā wal-khidma*) and accompanied him on his campaign of 460/1068. The sharvanshah marched against the people of Qūnī killing many of them, driving away their herds and burning their villages in order to avenge his cousin Lashkar-sitān (§21).

When Alp-Arslan returned from his campaign in Rūm<sup>1</sup> the people of al-Bāb complained to him of the sharvanshah who had seized some of their chiefs. The sultan ordered him to release them, which he did. Then the sultan imprisoned him for some days. His cousin-in-law (*ṣihr*) Qara-tegin fled from Yazīdiya to Masqaṭ and was killed there. \*GUZHDAHAM<sup>2</sup> b. Sallār, brother of the sharvanshah, also fled to the Lakz country carrying away the money (tribute) which he (?) had promised.<sup>3</sup> Then the sultan released the sharvanshah and sent him to his country but imposed on him (*aqṭa'a 'alayhi*) a great sum of money to be paid yearly (B 729).

In Ramadan 460/July 1068 Afrīdūn, son of the sharvanshah Farīburz, left the citadel of al-Bāb for Sharvan.

§23. In 461/1068-9 the news reached the sharvanshah that his brother Guzhdaham had left the Lakz for al-Bāb and had taken asylum with the "chiefs" (A 1056a). The sharvanshah called together his army and in Muharram/November 1068 halted on the bank of the Rūbās. Thence he resumed the march with the intention of entering al-Bāb. The inhabitants and his brother Guzhdaham b. Sallār came out to meet him and a battle was fought outside the town, at a place called Khurmāstān. It lasted from early morning till midday and the number of casualties on both sides grew without either of the opponents being victorious. So the sharvanshah returned to his camp (*mu'askar*) and the people of al-Bāb to their houses. The sharvanshah attacked for the second time and was met by the people of al-Bāb and the archers of Khaydāq and al-Bāb. When the battle grew hot the chief-of-chiefs of al-Bāb Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar went over (*inḥarafa*) to the sharvanshah and the people of al-Bāb were defeated and began to retreat. However, those of Khaydāq and Ṭuwayq (\*Tawīq) stood firm and, on seeing their fortitude, the fugitives returned to the fray and straight away (*ra'san*) rekindled the fire of the battle. The Sharvanians grew weak, their casualties increased and finally they were defeated. Later Mufarrij captured the citadel profiting by a moment when the inhabitants were off their guard. Guzhdaham b. Sallār remained in possession of the town (*balad*), while Mufarrij

<sup>1</sup> Surely after the five months' campaign in Georgia in 460/1068, when the Sultan was returning *via* Ganja and Barda'a, see *Akhbār*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> On the name see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 114, 371.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the tribute which the *sharvānshāh* owed to Alp-Arslan?

stayed in the citadel, and fighting between the followers of the two parties went on daily. Then Guzhdaham fled to the Lakz and 'Abd al-Malik b. Lashkari to Khaydāq, while Mufarrij took possession of the town too (in addition to the citadel).

Then the sharvanshah with his son and his army advanced to the March (*thaghr*) and entered the citadel. After four days he went home leaving his son Afrīdūn as the governor, with residence in the citadel. Afrīdūn strove to fortify and rebuild the citadel, and had a moat dug (round it).

§24. Then the people of al-Bāb read the *khutba* in the name of the lord of Arrān and abolished the *khutba* for the sharvanshah. The lord of Arrān sent troops to raid Sharvān, and several battles took place between the sharvanshah (on one hand) and the people of al-Bāb with the troops of the Arrān-shāh (on the other). Finally the sharvanshah got control of the whole of Masqaṭ and of Mihyāriya. The citadel of al-Bāb remained in the hands of his son Afrīdūn who seized every opportunity to attack from there the estates and the cultivated lands (*'imārāt*) of the people of al-Bāb. Meanwhile his father relieved the relay forces (*al-naubatiya*) every month, and built a wall round the estate of Mihyāriya, which he made into a town with a castle in the middle. Most of the time the sharvanshah lived in Mihyāriya for the purpose of attacking the people of al-Bāb, while the chief of the people of al-Bāb, Mufarrij, was tacitly in agreement with the sharvanshah and helping him in most of his battles. Finally the people of al-Bāb were forced to recognise the sharvanshah and to read the *khutba* in his name and discontinue the *khutba* for the lord of Arrān.

In (the beginning of) 464/October 1071, after hostages had been received and agreement reached with the people of al-Bāb, the sharvanshah sent there his son Afrīdūn as an autonomous governor.

§25. In Šafar 464/November 1071 the Turk Yaghmā (*B: Bughā*), slave of the Seljukid sultan Alp-Arslan, proceeded to the Marches of al-Bāb as the amir on behalf of the sultan, and the inhabitants of al-Bāb and the Marches met him with respect and esteem. They brought him into their town and he read the *manshūr* ("letter-patent") by which the sultan (appointed him) over them. By that time Afrīdūn had taken up a strong position in the citadel. Yaghmā sent a request to the sharvanshah for (the surrender of) the citadel and Masqaṭ. The sharvanshah evacuated the citadel and took away the provisions and grain stored in it, and in Rabī' II 464/January 1072 Yaghmā took possession of the

citadel and the Sharvanians went home. Yaghmā destroyed the middle (transverse) wall by the market of the people of al-Bāb.<sup>1</sup>

In this year Guzhdaham b. Sallār, brother of the sharvanshah, died in Shakkī and (A1056b) his body was carried to Yazīdiya and buried there.

In Rajab 464/April 1072 the chief Mufarrij with a group of people of al-Bāb set out with the intention to cross the Sammūr and to enter Masqaṭ, in order to recover the latter from the sharvanshah (B 730), to ruin Mihiyāriya and to fight those who were in its castle, namely the garrison and the relay forces (*nanbatiya*). But (suddenly) Mufarrij, on a very slight pretext, turned back on the way, in view of his inclination towards the sharvanshah.

§26. In this year the sharvanshah made an agreement with the lord of Arrān Faḍl b. Shāvur and both of them, with their armies, went to besiege the castle \*Mālūgh and delivered it from the hands of the lieutenant of the lord of Shakkī \*Akhsartān<sup>2</sup> who had captured it from the Muslims in the early part of the year. They recovered it in Ramaḍān 464/June 1072 and destroyed it, and left no trace of it and slaughtered all the infidels who were in it. And thus the sharvanshah carried on, while the people of al-Bāb now obeyed him and now revolted against him and he fought battles with them, destroying their estates and villages.

§27. Finally in 467/1074 there arrived a Turkish force with its leader Arghār b. Buqā. His claim was that the Sultan had given him Sharvan as a fief (*aqṭa'ahu*) but the sharvanshah duped him with presents and money so that the Turk felt reassured regarding him. (Suddenly) the sharvanshah arrested and imprisoned him, but then regretted his action for fear of the Sultan. So with his own hand he undid his fetters, gave him valuables (*amwāl*), made excuses to him and implored his pardon. The Turk pretended to forgive him but then fled from him, collected an army of Turks and with them re-entered Sharvan. They plundered the country and drove away all the herds, but when the report of this reached the Sultan, he sent an order to Arghār to restore the cattle and the loot to the owners, which he did accordingly in 468/1075.

§28. (By that time) the sharvanshah had occupied (the territory of) the eastern and the western Lakz and collected the *kharāj* from the

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic scholars consulted by me insist on this interpretation. However, from the local point of view, I am not sure that the wall, so many times mentioned in our text, stood near the market place. I am tempted to read \**bi-saugh ahl al-Bāb* "(destroyed it) by drawing (i.e., by conscripting) the people of al-Bāb". The work was certainly done by them. Cf. Nasīr al-dīn Tūsī's account of how the Baghdad wall was dismantled in 656/1258 (Juvayni, III, 289).

<sup>2</sup> Spelt: *Akhsartanān*, probably for *Akhsartān* (with ṭ).



inhabitants by force, after violent fights with them in the course of 467/1074-5.

§29. Al-Bāb was also brought to obedience, when finally a lieutenant of Sau-tegin (spelt: *Shād-tegin*), amir of the two Iraqs, arrived (to occupy) all the Marches of the (Caucasian) passes (*thughūr al-abwāb*). The Sultan had granted them to him (Sau-tegin) as a fief, and (now) he sent his lieutenant. After this, the sharvanshah, despaired of occupying al-Bāb, remained in his dominions and paid the yearly tribute (*māl*) imposed on him to the sultan's treasury. This<sup>1</sup> lasted until his death in (*blank*) and after him his son became ruler: AFRĪDŪN b. FARĪBURZ b. Sallār b. Yazīd b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yazīd b. Muhammad b. Yazīd b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī.

§30. Know that what we have recorded of the affairs of Sharvan down to this point has been taken from the history composed in Arabic in Darband (*Bāb al-abwāb*) towards 500/1106, but the manuscript which I have found was defective and the further affairs (*ma'āl*) (of Sharvān) are unknown.

## II

**Subsection B:** *on the Banū-Hāshim, kings of Bāb al-Abwāb, Masqaṭ and the Marches which are also called "Centres".*

§31. Masqaṭ (\*Masquṭ) is a land containing a number of strongholds, villages and fields and bordering on the river Sammūr, the sea, the Lakz and Shābarān. In the days of old it had independent rulers (*hukkām*) whose rule was disrupted in 218/833 when the amirs of Bāb al-Abwāb and the Marches occupied it.

(These) amirs, appointed as representatives of the Umayyads, and then of the Abbasids, succeeded one another, until in 255/869 Hāshim b. Surāqa al-\*Sulamī became the ruler of al-Bāb and the Marches<sup>2</sup> . . . and (then?) gained independence (*istabadda bi-amrihā*), and after him his descendants possessed it (*malakūhā*) one after the other. They were ? (*blank*) in number and their capital was the town (*balda*) of Bāb al-Abwāb.

The first appearance of this family was in 255/869 and their end about 470/1077; their domination lasted 215 years.

<sup>1</sup> This must be an addition by Mūnejjim-bashī.

<sup>2</sup> The text is out of order. Instead of *al-Sulamī*, MS. A gives *al-Saljūqī*. The following word ڤ looks like ڤ ("no") added by the scribe who noticed the blunder. In MS. B after the correct *al-Sulamī* one reads *bil-walā*. Is this a further guess of a later scribe, or the correct reading pointing to Hāshim's appointment "by the right of clientship"?

§32. The first<sup>1</sup> of them who gained independence in this government (A 1057a) was HĀSHIM b. Surāqa b. Salis b. Ḥayyūn (Jayyūn?) b. Najm b. Hāshim, a client of the Banū-Sulaym. He became amir of al-Bāb in 255/869 and he was one of the renowned chiefs (*rw'asā*)<sup>2</sup> and warriors in the Marches. When after the murder of Mutawakkil (247/861) the caliphate became disrupted through the Turkish clients seizing upon the administration, the people of al-Bāb and the ghāzīs of the Marches (B 731) appointed Hāshim their amir and faithfully obeyed him. His behaviour towards them was good and he acted with justice and equity, proceeding in affairs only in consultation with the wise men (*'uqalā*) and the chiefs (*rw'asā*). Whatever he did, he did only when they agreed on the action. Thus in his days order prevailed in the affairs of the Marches and "Centres" and the enemies feared him.

In 263/876 he led a raid (*ghazw*) against the Sarīr and wrought great slaughter among its people; he looted their property, captured their children and women and came back in triumph. In 265/878 he repeated his raid and returned victorious. He continued to rule until he died in 271/884 and the duration of his rule was sixteen years.

§33. He was succeeded by his son 'OMAR b. HĀSHIM b. Surāqa who followed in the steps of his father acting with justice and behaving well. He died in 272/885 after having ruled about one year.

Then his brother MUHAMMAD b. HĀSHIM b. Surāqa became the ruler. In 273/886 he raided the territory of Shandān (?) and conquered D.nk.s and Sh.l.shli belonging to it.<sup>3</sup> In Rajab 288/August 901 the Khazars with their king K.SĀ<sup>4</sup> b. B.LJĀN al-Khazarī came to attack Bāb al-abwāb, and Muhammad b. Hāshim with the ghāzīs of al-Bāb fought them, beat them off and defeated them with the help of the Almighty. In Dhul-Qa'da 292/September 905 Muhammad b. Hāshim met with \*BUKHT-YISHŌ, lord of the Sarīr, who by treason captured him with ten chiefs but then freed them, behaved generously towards them and gave them presents. In 297/909<sup>5</sup> Muhammad, in company with the sharvanshah and the Sharvanians, led an (Islamic) expedition against Shandān, but the Muslims were defeated and the two amirs captured; later they escaped, as previously mentioned (§8). In 302/914 his brother's son Maymūn b. 'Amr b. Hāshim died and in 303/915 he himself passed away after a reign of thirty-one years.

<sup>1</sup> Here apparently begins the text of the old *Ta' rīkh al-Bāb*, cf. above, §5, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Here perhaps in a general sense.

<sup>3</sup> See below p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> B: *T.n-kisā* (or *T.zz-kisā*)?

<sup>5</sup> Above under §8, in 300/912.

§34. He was succeeded by his brother 'ABD al-MALIK b. Hāshim b. Surāqa on Tuesday, 24 Jumādā II (303)/4 January 916.<sup>1</sup> His nephew ABUL-NAJM b. MUHAMMAD b. Hāshim revolted against him. As the people of al-Bāb favoured him, he expelled his uncle and occupied his place on 24 Ramadan/2 March 916. 'Abd al-Malik went to (*ilā*) Shandān, whereas 'Abul-Najm fought the people of \*Ṭabarsarān in Dhul-Hijja/June 916 and fortune was unfavourable to him. Then 'Abd al-Malik went to YŪSUF b. ABĪ al-SĀJ, governor of Azarbayjan on behalf of the caliph, and Yūsuf confirmed him in the governorship of al-Bāb and gave him 6,000 warriors from among the Sājīd troops (*al-Sājiya*). With their help 'Abd al-Malik fought the people of al-Bāb and defeated them. With (his) Sājites he entered the town and Abul-Najm fled from there. A few months after, when 'Abd al-Malik had consolidated his rule, it was reported to him that his nephew Abul-Najm was staying at a place near Shābarān and considering himself in security. 'Abd al-Malik attacked him (*kabasa*) intending to capture him, but Abul-Najm got wind of (his intention) and by another road went to the town (al-Bāb?) and entered it by night. 'Abd al-Malik went back and besieged him. Then SALĪFĀN came to assist ('Abd al-Malik?) (*jā'ahu*) with a Khazar army. They captured (Abul-Najm) and all his companions and enabled 'Abd al-Malik to enter the town (al-Bāb). Having won the victory over his brother's son, Abul-Najm, he killed him, and his position became unopposed.

In Ramadan 318/October 930 a battle took place between him and the sharvanshah at the gate of Shābarān, as previously mentioned (§9).

In 323/935 his son Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik was born. In 326/938 'Abd al-Malik led a raid (*ghazā*) against M.rāf.sa (? *B. M.rāw.na*)<sup>2</sup> and conquered it. He killed their men (A 1057b), captured their women and children and drove away their cattle.

In the same year he sent his minister (*ṣāhib*?) Abul-Fawāris with a detachment of cavalry from al-Bāb and Khaydāq to the village of Arān (?). They made a night attack on the enemy, set upon them (*kabasū*), killed a number of the notables of Shandān (B 732) and took possession of Dyk.sh (R.bk.sh?).<sup>3</sup>

On 1 Jumādā 327/24 February 939 amir 'Abd al-Malik died after a reign of twenty-four years.

<sup>1</sup> Which was a Thursday.

<sup>2</sup> The name is mutilated. The verb *ghazā* and the capture of women suggest that the expedition was directed against heathens.

<sup>3</sup> *Arrān* would be out of place. The village in question must have lain in Shandān. On *Dyk.sh/D.nk.s* see below, p. 102, n. 2.

§35. Three days later, the oath of allegiance was taken to his son AHMAD b. 'ABD al-MALIK.<sup>1</sup> After five months the "chiefs" revolted against him, drove him out of the town and swore allegiance to HAYTHAM b. MUHAMMAD b. YAZĪD, lord of Ṭabarsarān (§9), and brought him into the town. Haytham ruled in al-Bāb for a couple of years, after which, in Sha'ban 329/May 941, he was expelled and deposed.

They brought back Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik and swore allegiance to him for the second time, but deposed him after six months in Rabī' I 330/December 941. (Then) Haytham was brought back, but deposed after six months, and then they took the oath of fealty to his father, the sharvanshah Muhammad b. Yazīd, who sent his brother Ahmad b. Yazīd as his lieutenant to al-Bāb.<sup>2</sup> After a short time they deposed him in 342/953 and expelled him from the town.

They set up in his place the king of the Lakz \*KHASHRAM<sup>3</sup> AHMAD b. MUNABBIH, in Jumādā I 342 (?) / September 953. They deposed KHASHRAM (spelt: *Q.s.rs.m*) and expelled him from their country in Dhul-qa'da/March 954, and brought back Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik (for the third time).

In 348/959 a son, Maymūn b. Ahmad, was born to the amir Ahmad.

In 358/968–9 the sallār Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān al-Daylami came to Sharvan and sent a message to the amir of al-Bāb, Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik, requesting him to come, but Ahmad neither gave an answer nor appeared before him.<sup>4</sup> The sallār sent a detachment of his army to raid Masqaṭ, but local people occupied the defiles and the roads and killed a great number of the invaders while the remnants were put to flight. Haytham (§12), brother of the sharvanshah (Ahmad b. Muhammad) took asylum with amir Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik and, because of him, there was a rift between Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik and the sharvanshah. Amir Ahmad, with the people of Sarīr, raided the dominions of the shavanshah and plundered them.

Then there were disturbances in al-Bāb caused by the people of Sarīr, and the people of al-Bāb slew them and recovered what they had looted in Sharvan, as already mentioned (§12).

In 359/969 amir Ahmad rebuilt the citadel of al-Bāb and fortified himself in it.

<sup>1</sup> A: *bi-thalāthati*. B: "his son who was 3 years old". This statement may have been inferred from the fact that in 366/976 Ahmad died at the age of 43 years. In fact Ahmad was born in 323/935 (§34).

<sup>2</sup> B is obviously wrong: "his brother Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik (?) for the third time and he remained in power until they deposed him". See the Commentary.

<sup>3</sup> A gives *Q.sh.rsh.m* (or *F.sh.rs.m*); B: *N.sh.rs.m* (or *T.sh.rsh.m*).

<sup>4</sup> See *Studies in Caucasian History*, I, p. 163.

In Rabi' II 360/February 971 a violent battle was fought between the people of al-Bāb and those of the Sarīr near the Jihād gate. In it the Muslims were worsted and some 1,000 men of the people of al-Bāb, outsiders (*ghurabā*) and volunteers became martyrs (for the faith).

Amir Ahmad continued to rule until his death in Rabi' I 366/November 976. His rule lasted about forty years and his life about forty-three years.

§36. He was succeeded by his son MAYMŪN b. AHMAD b. 'Abd al-Malik. He remained in the citadel where his father used to stay, but then was brought down and imprisoned in the "government building"<sup>1</sup> and the inhabitants began to dismantle the middle (transverse) wall of the citadel. The time between its construction and destruction was seven years and one month. Amir Maymūn remained in the government building as a prisoner and all the power was in the hands of the "chiefs". His brother Ḥassān b. Ahmad died in 375/975.

The amir Maymūn secretly sought help from the Rūs against the "chiefs" and in 377/987 the Rūs arrived in eighteen ships. At first they sent one single ship to see whether the amir was eager to employ them. When they brought the amir out of (his confinement), the people of al-Bāb in a joint effort massacred the Rūs to the last man and the remaining ships sailed on to Masqaṭ and plundered it. Thence they proceeded further to Sharvān and Mūqān and to the old river (*nahr al-'atīq*).

In 378/988 the amir Maymūn (re)-built the citadel of al-Bāb and fortified himself in it.

In 379/989 the disturbance of Mūsā al-Tūzī, the preacher from Gilān, broke out in al-Bāb. This man arrived from Gilān in the town of al-Bāb (A 1058a), convened a meeting at the cathedral mosque and (B 733) over 1,000 men made penitence (*tāba*)<sup>2</sup> before him. With them he went to the Tower of the Vault (*burj al-Ṭāq*) and amir Maymūn also took a vow (*tāba*) not to drink (wine). Matters went on in such a way that the preacher got control of all government affairs. He requested the amir to surrender his Rūs *ghulāms* to him that he might offer them Islam, or kill them. As the amir refused to do so, disturbances broke out and in 380/990 the amir fortified himself in the citadel against the preacher. Tūzī and the people of al-Bāb besieged him there for twenty-eight days and matters came to such a pass that he asked the preacher for safe-conduct, (on condition) that he should surrender the citadel to him and himself, with his *ghulāms*, depart for Ṭabarsarān. This was conceded and Tūzī dismantled the middle wall and got control of the

<sup>1</sup> *Dār al-imāra*, i.e., the residence in the lower town.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: "repented".

town. Then (Tūzī) sent a request to the sharvanshah (inviting him) to come.<sup>1</sup> The latter arrived at the March (*thaghr*) and was met by the local notables and chiefs, with (the inhabitants) from the lowest to the highest, who with exuberant honours brought him into the March.

Then, in the same year, Bālid (Bāldū?), slave (*mamlūk*) of amir Maymūn, set upon (*ḡafira bihi*) the sharvanshah in the "government building", wounded him and fled to his master in Ṭabarsarān, whereas the wounded sharvanshah left for Sharvan. Amir Maymūn reoccupied the country but was expelled from it in 381/991. The sharvanshah was brought back, and he rebuilt the citadel and fortified it.

In 382/992 amir Maymūn returned, burnt the Damascus gate<sup>2</sup> and occupied the town. In 383/993 he also wrested the citadel from the sharvanshah and dismantled the middle wall which the sharvanshah had built. The period between its construction and demolition was one year and five months. In the same year amir Maymūn had the gate of Damascus and that of Palestine made of pure iron.

In 385/995 the people of K.rj (\*Karakh?)<sup>3</sup> were converted to Islam by amir Maymūn.

On Monday, 15 Safar 387/27 February 997<sup>4</sup> amir Maymūn b. Ahmad died after a reign of twenty-one years, at the age of thirty-eight years

§37. His brother MUHAMMAD b. AHMAD b. 'Abd al-Malik was established in his place and ruled in al-Bāb ten months and eighteen days. He was murdered by a *ghulām* of his brother Maymūn in the open country (*ṣahrā*) near the Jihād gate in Dhul-Ḥijja 387/December 997. Four months after his murder the oath of fealty was taken to his brother's son LASHKARĪ b. MAYMŪN, in Rabī' I 388/March 998.

In 389/999 the sharvanshah (Yazīd b. Ahmad, §14) offered him battle near the estate of Rizqiya (?) and captured the latter. Then he fought (Lashkarī?) at the gate of Shābarān but was defeated by him. Lashkarī died in Dhul-qa'da 392/September 1002 after a reign of four years and twenty-four days.

§38. The oath was taken to his brother MANṢŪR b. MAYMŪN b. AHMAD in 393/1003, eight months and a half after the death of Lashkarī.

In the same year the sharvanshah killed Abū-Naṣr, brother of Manṣūr, whom he had kept as a hostage since the time of his father Maymūn. He killed him without any apparent reason (§14).

Amir Manṣūr continued to rule until he was deposed in 410/1019. He was expelled from the country and the oath of fealty was taken to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the chapter on Sharvan (§13).

<sup>2</sup> Which apparently was wooden.

<sup>3</sup> Here clearly not the Georgians (Kurj, Jurz).

<sup>4</sup> Which was a Saturday.

the lord of Sharvan, Yazīd b. Ahmad (§14), who repaired the citadel and garrisoned it with his troops. He was deposed in 412/1021 and, for the second time, allegiance was sworn to amir Manṣūr. He was brought to the town and after a month recovered the citadel too from the Sharvanians. He sent an army consisting of the people of al-Bāb to Sharvan. In 413/1022 the Sharvanians opposed it at the gates of Shābarān but neither of the two sides was victorious and (the invaders) went home.

In 414/1023 the amir Manṣūr was expelled from the country and the lord of Sharvan brought in. He repaired the citadel and garrisoned it with his men but in 415/1024 the amir Manṣūr was brought back and, for the third time, the oath was taken to him. After several days he also took possession of the citadel.

In 416/1025 the amir Manṣūr married Sāriya,<sup>1</sup> (B 734) daughter of Bukht-Yishō, lord of the Sārīr.

In 423/1032 the amir Manṣūr with the ghāzīs of the Islamic "Centres" led a great expedition. This was because the Rūs had raided (A 1058b) the territories of Sharvan, ruined and plundered them, and murdered or made prisoner a great mass of the inhabitants. As they were returning, their hands full of booty and captives, the ghāzīs of al-Bāb and the Marches, with the amir Manṣūr at their head, occupied the defiles and the roads and put them to the sword so that few escaped. They took from their hands all the booty, animate and inanimate, which they had captured in Sharvan. Then the Rūs and the Alāns (returned) with the intention of revenge. They gathered together and jointly set off in the direction of al-Bāb and the Marches. First of all, in 424/1033 they moved to \*al-Karakh where there was only a small group (of warriors) with Khusrau<sup>2</sup> and Haytham b. Maymūn al-Bā'ī (?), chief of the tanners.<sup>3</sup> And (the latter?) fought (them) with the help of the people of \*Karakh, and God let victory descend on the Muslims and they wrought great havoc among the Alāns and the Rūs. The lord of the Alāns was beaten off from the gate of \*Karakh, and the infidels' greed for these Islamic "Centres" was extinguished absolutely.

Amir Manṣūr b. Maymūn died in 425/1034 after a reign of thirty-seven years.

§39. The oath was sworn to his son 'ABD al-MALIK b. MANṢŪR b. Maymūn and he continued to rule until they deposed him and expelled him from the town on the eve of Friday (*laylat al-jum'a*) 17 Rabi' I/9

<sup>1</sup> In B indistinct.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps: \*hashar "a levy"? No Khusrau has been previously mentioned and the verb which follows is in the singular.

<sup>3</sup> B adds: "chief-of-chiefs 'Anaq", which is an obvious mistake.

February 1034<sup>1</sup> and the country was delivered to the sharvanshah Abū-Manšūr 'Ali b. Yazīd (§16). They brought him in and he repaired the citadel. He left his vazir Manšūr b. Musaddid in the "government building" and himself went back to Sharvan. This happened in 426/1035.

In Jumādā II/April 1035 amir 'Abd al-Malik returned to the country and killed Manšūr b. Musaddid. He besieged the citadel and, owing to the mediation of the chief 'Ali b. Ḥasan b. 'Anaq took it by capitulation on 1 Rajab/12 May 1035.

In the same year the chief Muẓaffar b. (*sic*) 'Abd al-Salām b. Aghlab died in al-Bāb.

In the same year the amir 'Abd al-Malik married Shamkūya bint Yazīd, sister of the sharvanshah (Abū-Manšūr), and consummated the marriage in Safar 427/December 1035. When the chiefs saw how his position was strengthened by the marriage ties with the sharvanshah, they had fears for themselves and there arose from their midst 'Ali b. Ḥasan b. 'Anaq (and) Mufarrij, Abul-Fawāris ('Abd al-Salām) and Abū 'Amr, sons of Muẓaffar b. Aghlab, who with their followers made a sudden attack (*wathabū ma'a atbā'ihim*). They entered the house of Saqlāb b. Muhammad, vazir of amir 'Abd al-Malik. The latter stood up to receive them, but they drew their daggers and treacherously murdered him in his house. He was a man of generous disposition and praiseworthy behaviour (*maḥmūd al-ṭarīqa*). When the amir saw how his vazir and counsellor was murdered, he feared for his own life and for that of his family. He left the town secretly at night and fled to Sharvān. The next day the people of al-Bāb came together to take mutual counsel and dispatched the chief 'Ali b. Aghlab and Abū-'Abdillāh b. 'Abd al-'Aziz to Sharvan to soften the heart of the amir (and to persuade him) to return to the seat (of his government). The sharvanshah arrested the two envoys and imprisoned them in one of his castles, while the amir returned to the March (*thaghr*), repaired the citadel and fortified himself in it with his family and his *ghulāms*. Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar went to Sharvan to stay (as a hostage) in place of his uncle ('Ali b. Aghlab), but the sharvanshah imprisoned him too. Later he freed them all, after having obtained their formal vows that they would obey the amir 'Abd al-Malik.

In 429/1037-8 the people of \*Shandān<sup>2</sup> came to the gate of the town of al-Bāb and the March (*thaghr*). Some of them were taken prisoner, some others were killed, while among the Muslims several lost their lives.

In 430/1038 the chief 'Ali b. Ḥasan b. 'Anaq revolted and besieged the amir in the citadel and then led a party (A 1059a) from al-Bāb to Shābarān, but retreated ignominiously.

<sup>1</sup> The night before Friday. February 9th was a Saturday.

<sup>2</sup> A: *al-Sh.dāniya* (?).



In the same year (**B 735**) a son, Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Malik was born to the amir in the castle of Shābarān.

In 432/1040 the people of Khaydāq took the citadel of al-Bāb and captured amir 'Abd al-Malik and his wife Shamkūya. They dismantled the middle wall of the citadel. In the same year the chief 'Ali b. Hasan (b. 'Anaq) with the people of al-Bāb went forth on an Islamic expedition (*ghazāt*) against Shandān.

In the year 433/1041-2 'Abd al-Malik left the March for al-Muḥraqa (?) for fear of the chiefs, and the people of al-Bāb seized his wife Shamkūya and sent her to her brother, the sharvanshah Qubād (§17). In the same year 'Abd al-Malik returned to al-Bāb and when he entered the town the chiefs withdrew to K.r.k. (Kurak?).<sup>1</sup> In 434/1042<sup>2</sup> Shamkūya returned from Sharvan to al-Bāb. Amir 'Abd al-Malik died on the eve of Friday (*laylat al-jum'a*) 25 Rajab 434/Thursday 10 March 1043, after having reigned about nine years.

§40. His son MANṢŪR b. 'ABD al-MALIK b. Manṣūr, who was a child of four, was proclaimed amir on Thursday 3 Sha'bān 434/18 March 1043.<sup>3</sup> The nobles and the commoners took the oath of fealty to him and everybody was pleased with his accession to the amirate. The actual regent on his behalf was the chief Abul-Fawāris 'Abd al-Salām b. Muḥafar b. Aghlab who died in 443/1051, after which the amir became an independent ruler. On Tuesday, in the middle of Rabī' II 446/24 July 1054<sup>4</sup> fighting broke out between him and the population and the chiefs, and then on the eve of Friday 25 (?) Rabī' II (446)/3 August 1054, the amir and his mother Shamkūya secretly left the town for al-Muḥraqa near al-Bāb. He collected a large number of people of al-Bāb and Ṭabarsarān and on 1 Jumādā I/8 August 1054 came fighting to the gate of the March. The chiefs and the notables came out of the town and violent fighting broke out between them at the Palestine gate. The army of Manṣūr was defeated, after which the chiefs and the people of al-Bāb invited his brother LASHKARĪ (b.) 'ABD al-MALIK on the eve of Tuesday 16 Jumādā II/22 September 1054.<sup>5</sup> They brought him to the "government building" and offered him the flower (*rayḥāna*) of their allegiance, to the satisfaction of the nobles (*a'yān*) and the chiefs (*ru'asā*) from (among) the people of the March.<sup>6</sup> Lashkarī continued

<sup>1</sup> See below under August 1064.

<sup>2</sup> According to §17, in 437/1045, which must be right for her brother Qubād, who released her, ascended the throne only in 435/1043.

<sup>3</sup> Which was a Friday.

<sup>4</sup> Taking the day for the 15 of Rabī' II, but Tuesday fell on the 17th of that month.

<sup>5</sup> Which was a Thursday.

<sup>6</sup> B: *al-a'yān min ahl al-Thaghr*.

to rule until he was treacherously murdered in his house on the eve of Tuesday 1 Dhul-qa'da 446/Tuesday 3 January 1055. The murderers were the *ghulāms* of his brother Maṣṣūr.

In the same year a son was born to the murdered Lashkarī and was called 'Abd al-Malik b. Lashkarī. He was born in Khaydāq, of a local woman (*al-khaydāqiya*) whom the amir had married.

On 2 Rabi' II 447/1 July 1055 the people of al-Bāb brought amir MAṢṢŪR b. 'ABD al-MALIK to the March through the intermediary of the lord of the Sarīr. They renewed their oath of allegiance to him but in his affairs he remained subordinate (*maghlūb*) to the chiefs. Then in 456/1064 the amir appealed to his neighbours<sup>1</sup> for help against the "chiefs" and a large number of people of Khaydāq and others came to his assistance. With their help he fought the "chiefs" on 10 Muharram/3 January 1064. The inhabitants went over to the amir and submitted to him deserting the chiefs.

In the same year, at the instigation of the chiefs, the lord of the Sarīr collected a large crowd (*jamman ghafīran*)<sup>2</sup> of infidels and various Turks and, with them, marched on al-Bāb, and encamped at D.h.n.q (Dimishq?) on 24 Jumādā II/13 June 1064. He sent his army with his *tarkhāns* and *batrīqs* up to the gate of the town and drove away the herd (grazing at) the Jihād gate. Shouts and calls to arms were heard (A 1059b) and amir Maṣṣūr rode out with those of his companions and *a'yān al-sufūf*<sup>3</sup> who followed him. When the two parties came close together, no one dared to begin the attack, in view of the number of the infidels and the gallantry of the Muslims despite their fewness. The infidels (B 736)<sup>4</sup> were more than 4,000 horsemen, whereas the Muslims, both mounted and on foot, (only) 200, but God sent victory to the Muslims, for some 100 men came to their help from Ṭabarsarān and, swooping down on the enemy, they recovered the herd. The enemy was driven away from al-Bāb and returned defeated to their master, the lord of the Sarīr. Meanwhile the chiefs with their followers kept away from the fighting; not only did they not obey the amir but even instigated the enemy against him. Thanks to divine assistance, the lord of the Sarīr had to return ignominiously.

In the same year (456), on Friday 28 Jumādā II/16 June 1064<sup>4</sup> the chief 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Anaq died in al-Bāb and was buried in his house on Sunday afternoon. He had inherited the chieftdom from his ancestors and possessed the intrepidity of kings and the gravity of sultans. The kings and amirs feared him, he was influential in speech and victorious

<sup>1</sup> *Ahl al-aṭraf*, lit. "people of the outlying regions".

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps: *\*jam'an ghafīran*?

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps: "the nobles of the bazaar", see below p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> Which was a Wednesday.

in wars. He was a man of counsel, decision and prudence and after his death the situation grew less easy for the chiefs. In Rajab 456/June 1064, Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar b. Aghlab with his tribe (*‘ashīra*) and family, with the chiefs and, moreover, with *ghulāms* and followers, went out to the Muḥraqa of al-Bāb. Thence he moved to the estates lying "between the two rivers."<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, the amir Manṣūr with the nobles of the March rode out to the Muḥraqa gate. Mufarrij rode out with the other chiefs and *ghulāms* to meet the amir. The two parties clashed and Manṣūr was defeated and barely escaped with his life. As a result of this rift the Ghumīq infidels raided the villages of al-Bāb, killed many of their Muslim inhabitants and looted their property. Then they imposed the *kharāj* on the survivors and went home.

In Sha‘bān 456/July 1064 the chiefs sent their *ghulāms* who drove away the cattle of the people of al-Bāb and time after time raided the suburb (*rabaḍ*).

In Ramadan/August 1064 the chiefs moved from al-Muḥraqa to K.r.k (\*Kurak) in the Lakz territory (*balad*) and seized all the estates of Masqaṭ and the territory "between the two rivers". Then again they intensified the blockade of the inhabitants of the March so that nobody could enter it or leave it. In the midst of these events, the amir Manṣūr married the daughter of ‘Ali b. Hasan b. ‘Anaq. The lady’s mother was a daughter of RWM,<sup>2</sup> amir of the Khaydāq, and, reinforced by the *ghulāms* of her father, amir Manṣūr warded off the chiefs for a number of days.

In this year the Alans took many of the lands of Islam.

In this year (456) also the remnants of the Khazars, consisting of 3,000 households, arrived at the town of Qaḥṭān from the Khazar territory. They rebuilt it and settled in it.

In 457/1064-5 the chief Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar ordered the chief of the tanners Haytham b. Maymūn to mediate between him and the amir Manṣūr b. ‘Abd al-Malik, to enable him, with his tribe and followers, to return to his home and residence. He said that having grown old he regretted what he had done. He blamed himself for staying among the Lakz and his adventurer’s existence (*taṣa’luk*) in his old age. Amir Manṣūr accepted this from him thinking that it was the truth and a definite effort to improve relations, and he did not know how much falsehood and estrangement there was in their hearts (A 1060a). Haytham did all he could, composed the discord and achieved (his) mission. Amir Manṣūr gave him a favourable answer and, by a truthful oath and firm agreement, forgave the chiefs and gave them guarantees for themselves, their property and their followers.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps: the Sammūr and the Rūbās (?).

<sup>2</sup> B suggests *B.rūm*, *Z.mz.m*? Possibly *Pīrūz*, see below, pp. 52, 94.

In Muharram 457/December 1064 the amir went out to meet them and brought them honourably back. They were requested to swear that they would not betray the amir and (would) obey him. The amir relied on their false promises and their specious pact. He was lulled to (a false sense of) security but on Wednesday 27 Šafar/7 February 1065 they (persuaded) him to go out with them to Masqaṭ, in order to prevent the Kurds from invading that district where they entered the houses of the peasants and sharecroppers and took liberties and did harm.

Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar seized his opportunity on Sunday, 1 Rabi' I/10 February 1065.<sup>1</sup> While he was on the estate Sāmsūya belonging to Masqaṭ, he suddenly penetrated into amir Maṣṣūr's presence when he had just awaked from sleep and was sitting on his bed (B 737). The murderers struck him to death with swords and daggers and sent his body to Sharvan to be buried there. At that time his age was twenty-five years and he had reigned twenty-three years, and some say eighteen years.

When Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar, with other chiefs of his house and their *ghulāms*, had killed the amir, they at once rode away and entered the March when half (*shaṭr*) of the night was gone and the people were unaware (of what had happened). They seized Shamkūya bint-Yazīd, the mother of the amir, and imprisoned her. They looted the "government building" and caused (much) destruction. Then they told the *ghulāms* to loot the town (*balad*) and a great tumult ensued on that night, such as never (had been) heard of in those parts.

§41. In this year, after the murder of amir Maṣṣūr, a son called MAYMŪN b. MAṢṢŪR was born to him in the house of the chief Ibn Abī-Yaḥyā. After the death of the amir the flood-gates of disturbance were flung open throughout al-Bāb. The Kurds sent raiders to Masqaṭ and its villages and great misfortunes befell the people of al-Bāb.

The sharvanshah summoned his army and marched with it on al-Bāb to take his revenge (for his relative). He captured Masqaṭ and took it from the hands of the people of al-Bāb. Then, time after time, he raided the countryside of al-Bāb. In Jumādā I/April 1065 the chief Mufarrij left for the Sarīr and took asylum with its lord. In company with the latter, he advanced on the \*Dimishq (B: *D.h.nq*) of al-Bāb. Then the nobles of the Marches and the chiefs came out, arranged peace with him and in his presence took an oath of fealty to 'ABD al-MALIK b. LASHKARĪ b. 'Abd al-Malik, who at that time was a boy of six<sup>2</sup> and was staying with PĪRŪZ (B: *Fīrūz*) b. al-SAKBĀN of Khaytāq. Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar also swore allegiance to him, after which the chiefs

<sup>1</sup> Which was a Thursday.

<sup>2</sup> He was born in 446/1055 and must have been 10 or 11 years old.

and nobles returned to al-Bāb with 'Abd al-Malik b. Lashkarī and put him on the throne of the amirate in the house of Aghlab b. 'Ali, until<sup>1</sup> he should be able to direct (the affairs of) the amirate. This happened in Jumādā II 457/May 1065.

The sharvanshah marched (on al-Bāb) and the chiefs congregated and released his paternal aunt Shamkūya, daughter of Yazīd, from her prison and handed her over to him with her property. They made peace and the sharvanshah went home.

Then Mufarrij brought MAMLĀN b. YAZĪD, paternal uncle of the sharvanshah, into the town (*balad*) and placed him in the castle (*qaṣr*) of Abul-'Abbas. Then he, together with Mamlān and other Karakhī (*sic*) chiefs, went forth to Masqaṭ to collect the harvest. He stayed at Masqaṭ and appealed for help to his father-in-law (*hamūhu*), the lord of the Sarīr T.QŪ b. F.RŪJ.<sup>2</sup> The latter arrived in person and assisted him and, reinforced by him, Mufarrij expelled the Sharvanians from Masqaṭ and, as a result of this conquest, his affairs prospered. He sent his deputies (*ummāl*) to the villages, while he himself, together with the lord of the Sarīr and his infidel army, proceeded to Shābarān in order to conquer it, but its people resisted and defeated him. Mufarrij was captured with a group of people of al-Bāb and the Sarīr, and they were taken in fetters to the sharvanshah who imprisoned them. Mamlān went back to the March but after a few days was expelled. (A 1060b) Al-Bāb was surrendered to the sharvanshah and 'Abd al-Malik b. Lashkarī was deposed after having ruled for six months. The sharvanshah repaired the citadel and garrisoned it with his troops.

When 'Abd al-Malik was expelled, Pīrūz b. Sahnān (*sic*) took him to Khaydāq.

In al-Bāb the situation (became unstable): now al-Bāb was ruled by the sharvanshah and his lieutenants, and now the power was usurped by the chiefs and their leader Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar, supported by the lord of the Sarīr, who was his father-in-law.

§42. Finally, when Sultan Alp-Arslan occupied Azarbayjan, he sent his chamberlain Sau-tegin (spelt: *Shāu*) with a detachment of the army to al-Bāb. Together with him he sent the chief of al-Bāb Aghlab b. 'Alī<sup>3</sup> who had been kept prisoner by the sharvanshah but had been liberated by the Sultan. First the Turks occupied Masqaṭ and devastated it. Then they took the citadel (of al-Bāb) from the Sharvanians and dismantled its middle wall. The town (*balad*) was taken from the

<sup>1</sup> B: "so that (*'ala an*) his affairs should go straight".

<sup>2</sup> Var. *Q.rūj*, *Q.rūkh*.

<sup>3</sup> The son of 'Alī b. Hasan who died in 456/1064, and the former tutor of 'Abd al-Malik Lashkarī (see above under 457/1065).

chiefs and \*Sau-tegin appointed Aghlab b. 'Ali as his lieutenant in al-Bāb, while he himself went back to join the Sultan. Then disturbances broke out between the followers of Aghlab and the companions (B 738) of Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar; many people were killed on both sides and troubles recurred until 'Abd al-Malik b. Lashkarī arrived on Tuesday 27 Dhul-hijja 460/27 October 1068.<sup>1</sup> He was accompanied by people from the outlying regions (*aṭrāf*) and by the kings of the mountains (*mulūk al-jibāl*). They camped outside the town, on Tall al-Fursān ("Horsemen's Hill"). All the inhabitants of the March came out with Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar and Aghlab b. 'Ali, including the *a'yān al-ṣufūf* (see above A1059) and the elders of the town, and swore allegiance to him for the second time. They set him up over themselves and proclaimed him (*naṣṣū bihi?*).<sup>2</sup> Then they brought him into the March (*al-thaghr*) and placed him in the military camp near the Citadel Gate.

In Muharram 461/November 1068 the sharvanshah (Farīburz, §22) marched on al-Bāb and a series of battles was fought between him and 'Abd al-Malik's army consisting of the people of al-Bāb and Khaydāq. In all of them fortune (*dā'ira*) turned against the sharvanshah. Then, in view of some complication with Aghlab b. 'Ali, Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar with his followers went over to the sharvanshah. In consequence of this, those of al-Bāb were defeated, but those of Khaydāq stood firm. On seeing their fortitude those of al-Bāb came back to join in the battle and the Sharvanians were defeated and many of them slain. Mufarrij entered the citadel of al-Bāb at the moment when its occupiers were off their guard and fortified himself in it; fighting broke out between his followers and those of amir 'Abd al-Malik and the chief Aghlab. They fought every day until, on the eve of Saturday 29 Safar/28 December 1068,<sup>3</sup> Aghlab died at the age of thirty-eight. Mufarrij was victorious, whereas the affairs (*nizām*) of 'Abd al-Malik got into confusion and again he fled to Khaytāq. The sharvanshah advanced and occupied al-Bāb, both the town (*balad*) and the citadel. He left there his son Afrīdūn b. Farīburz and he himself returned to Sharvan taking with him most of the chiefs in chains.

§43. Then a struggle for the amirate of Sharvān began between the sharvanshah and the lord of Arrān (Faḍl b. Shāvur) and now one of them gained the upper hand and the *khutba* was read in his name from the pulpits of the March and al-Bāb, and now the other consolidated his power and the *khutba* was read for him (§24). As a result of this struggle most of the countryside of al-Bāb was ruined.

<sup>1</sup> Which was a Wednesday.

<sup>2</sup> Installed him on the throne (*minaṣṣa*), as suggested by D. Cowan.

<sup>3</sup> *Laylat al-sabī*, but the last day of Ṣafar was a Sunday.

§44. In 462/1069 (read: 464/1071, as in §25), on his return from the campaign of Rūm, Sultan Alp-Arslan sent his Turkish *ghulām* Yaghmā to the March and Yaghmā took both the town and the citadel from the Sharvanians. Before that the chief-of-chiefs of al-Bāb Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar, who had occupied the mountain (*al-jabal*),<sup>1</sup> became a great lord. Now his sympathies inclined towards the sharvanshah, but in 463/1070, after the return of the Sultan to (Persian) Iraq, the people of al-Bāb called amir 'Abd al-Malik back from Khaydāq, brought him into the town (*balad*) and entrusted the amirate to him, and he went on fighting the Sharvanians, with varying success.

In 464/1071 the inhabitants expelled 'Abd al-Malik from the town (A 1061a) and surrendered it to the sharvanshah. Then they brought back 'Abd al-Malik (?), and then again turned him out.

§45. In Muharram 468/August 1075 the people of al-Bāb withdrew their allegiance from amir 'Abd al-Malik and expelled him. As was his wont, he went to Khaydāq to seek reinforcements for his return to the amirate, but the people of al-Bāb followed him, caught him and placed him as a prisoner in the town of al-Ḥumaydiya.<sup>2</sup> On Thursday, 5 Muharram 468/Thursday 20 August 1075, they swore allegiance to his cousin MAYMŪN b. MANṢŪR b. 'Abd al-Malik (§41) whom they lodged at the "government building". He was eleven years old (§41).

In Ṣafar/September 1075 Haytham b. Maymūn, chief of the tanners, died as the consequence of a fall from his horse.

§46. In Jumādā I/December 1075 Ahmad b. 'Ali, *ghulām* of the amir of the two 'Irāqs, arrived as an envoy of the Sultan to al-Bāb. He said that the Sultan had given the March to Sāu-tegin (spelt: *Shāu*), and his name was read in the *khutba* after the name of the Sultan from the pulpits of the March. The term of Maymūn's amirate was about four months, and we<sup>3</sup> could not ascertain whether after that he recovered the amirate or not, and whether after the said Maymūn any other Hāshimid ruled, or their dynasty came to an end, but the latter seems to have been the case.

§47. All this has been taken from a fragment of the Arabic *History of al-Bāb* composed *circa* 500/1106, but (only) God is omniscient!

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the upper part of the town with the citadel?

<sup>2</sup> Still exists in upper Tabarsaran, to the west of Darband; on Russian maps: *Gimeydi*.

<sup>3</sup> This addition is by Münejjim-bashī.

# COMMENTARY

## A. SHARVĀN

§1. As Mūnajjim-bashī admits, this paragraph is but an abridgment of Ibn Khallikān's notice, see *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. Cairo 1310/1892, II, 283-9: Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī; see also the biographies of Ma'an b. Zā'ida, *ibid.*, II, 108-112, and of al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf, *ibid.*, II, 179-80 (cf. de Slane's translation, IV, 218-32; III, 398, III, 668). For the death of Yazīd Ibn-Khallikān himself (who completed his work in 672/1274) quotes the *Kitāb al-aghānī*. (Guidi's index to the latter work refers, in fact, to the *Diwān* of Muslim b. al-Walīd al-Anṣārī, ed. by de Goeje, 1875, pp. 237-8. This poet was in Barda'a when his patron Yazīd died). A circumstantial account of the three successive appointments of Yazīd b. Mazyad by Hārūn is given in Ya'qūbī, II, 515-519, translated by Marquart in *Streifzüge*, 453-6, with notes. The first time Yazīd was dismissed in 172/788, Ṭabari, III, 6-7. Yazīd died in 185/801, Ṭabari, III, 648. According to R. Vasmer, *Chronologie der arab. Statthalter von Armenien* (750-887), Vienna 1931, the appointments of the Shaybānis to Armenia were as follows: Yazīd b. Mazyad in 171-2 and 183-5; Asad b. Yazīd in 185-6 and 195; Muhammad b. Yazīd in 186-7; Khālid b. Yazīd in 212-7, [nothing on the period 205-220], circa 226 (only nominated) and in 227-8; Muhammad b. Khālid in 228-232 (?) and some time after 241 [our source 242-5].

For the reasons already stated (see above, p. 20, n. 2), we take Yazīd (and not his father Mazyad) for the eponym of the dynasty of Sharvān.

§2. The coins struck during Khālid's governorship are known of the years 212-7/827-32 and 225/839, see R. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 70-1, 87-8. Reports on Khālid in Balādhuri, 211, and Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, p. 566, are brief.<sup>1</sup> According to Balādhuri, Khālid was dismissed because he accepted presents from the Armenians. The events of Shakki are referred to by Moses Kalankatvats'i, III, ch. 19: "towards the end of Armenian 270/A.D. 822 some picked men of the Tājiks (Arabs) left Partav (Barda'a) and having raided the Amaras district and captured about a thousand people, fortified themselves in Mets-Arank' on the upper Terter in a place called Shikakar. Then the valiant and handsome prince Sahl-i Smbatean Ēranshahik, together with his strong brothers and his own and their troops attacked (the Arabs) at dawn, defeated them, scattered them on the earth and saved the captives as if from the

<sup>1</sup> Under 220/836, Ṭabari, III, 1079, reports that after a reverse in the campaign against Bābak, Afshīn obtained provisions from *ṣāhib al-Sīrwān* (*Sīrawān*?). This vassal cannot be Sharvānshāh (as Spuler translates in *Iran in früh-islam. Zeit*, 1952, p. 63). The name would have been spelt without the article, to say nothing of the fact that at that moment communications with the North were disrupted by Bābak. Al-Sīrwān (al-Sīrawān) refers to the region of the upper Karkhā (in Luristān), as rightly seen by E. Martin, *The reign of al-Mu'taṣim*, New Haven, 1951, p. 15. Cf. below p. 60 on Waṣīf al-Sīrwānī.



lion's mouth". (Patkanian's translation, p. 266.) On Sahl of Shakki see in more detail Minorsky in *BSOAS*, 1953, XV/3, 505-12.

§3. Based on general sources, cf. Ya'qūbī, 579.

§4. According to Ya'qūbī, 580, Khālid was re-appointed under Mu'taṣim but soon recalled in view of Armenian protests. The Armenian historian Asolik (transl. by Dulaurier, 1883, I, 134) says that "in the year 290 Khalet, son of Yezid, amir of Armenia with a considerable army came to Georgia; he died in Javakh, in the village of Khozabir". This happened during the reign of the Bagratid Smbat Aplabas, son of Ashot Msaker. The Armenian year 290 corresponds to A.D. 841-2, which agrees with the year given in the *T.-B.* Wāthiq became caliph on 18 Rabī' I, 227/5 January 842, and Khālid had time enough to reach Javakh even in the course of 842. Javākh, in Georgian Javaxet'i, lies on the river of Akhal-kalaki, a right tributary of the upper Kur.

§5. Ya'qūbī does not mention 'Alī and his account of Muhammad, II, 587, is less complete than ours. Ishaq b. Ismā'il b. Shu'ayb of Quraysh was a prominent figure in the Caucasian history, see Minorsky *Tiflis in E.I.* He was supported by various local elements (the Ts'anar and Kakhetians) and was married to the daughter of the ruler of the Sarīr. On his death in 238/852 see Ṭabarī, III, 1414-6. 'Alī b. Jahm composed a *qaṣida* on this event and dedicated it to Mutawakkil, see his *Diwān*, ed. Khalīl Mardam-bek, Damascus 1950, p. 174. References to Ishaq are found in the contemporary *Life of Gregory of Khandzti*, Russian transl. by N. Marr, *Teksti i roziskaniya*, IV, 1911, p. 137.

The date of the foundation of Janza (Ganja) (245/859) does not seem to occur elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> but the Armenian historian of Albania (Arrān) Moses Kaġankavats'i, III, ch. 20 (Russian transl. Patkanian, p. 270), confirms that "Gandzak in the district Arshakashen" was founded by the son of the merciless *Khazr patgos*. *Patgos* apparently stands for *patgospān* (in Persian "governor-general, vice-roy") and in *Khazr Marquart*, *Streifzüge*, 402, rightly suspected a mutilation of *Khālid*. Consequently, the Armenians too attributed the building of Janza to Khalid's son (Muhammad). Moses adds that Muhammad built Gantsak (Janza) during his second term of office in Armenia. After having built Gantsak (Janza) he invaded Siunik', raided Balk-k' and reached Alahēchk'.

From this point on, the history of the Yazidid family changes its character: from governors-general appointed from Baghdad its members become hereditary vassals in their own fief. As such they have remained outside the purview of the general historians of the caliphate. For the same reason the importance of our *T.-B.* increases, as it continues to give a profusion of unknown facts in a connected form. The legend of Janza marks the beginning of the fragments of the *T.-B.* which Mūnejjim-bashī had at his disposal.

<sup>1</sup> A later source, *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (written in 740/1340) *GMS*, p. 91, places the foundation of Ganja in 39/659. As the dialectal Iranian name of Ganza/Ganja ("a treasury") indicates, it must have existed even in pre-Islamic times. The province in which it lay was called in Armenian Shakashen (in Greek Σακασηνή) and even in Alexander's time it was known for its wealth, see Adontz, *Armenia*, St. Petersburg 1908, 421; Marquart, *Skizzen*, Wien 1928, p. 60. See now a popular history of Ganja by M. M. Altman, Baku, 1949, p. 15.

As the senior member of the family Muhammad b. Khālīd, though residing in Arrān, must have lorded it over the whole territory down to al-Bāb, which fact possibly encouraged his successors to claim al-Bāb as their own fief and to contest the rights of the local Hāshimids. The subvention paid to the ghāzis of Darband (§7) was also a means of retaining some control over that region. Of Muhammad b. Khālīd's brothers, Haytham ruled autonomously in SHARVĀN, and Yazīd in LAYZĀN (§8). It is not unlikely that Ṭabarsarān was also ruled by one of Muhammad b. Khālīd's relations.

On Khālīdiyāt which the caliph confirmed to Muhammad b. Khālīd at the time of the latter's withdrawal from Armenia, see below p. 118.

After Muhammad b. Khālīd's death our author turns his attention to the branch of SHARVĀN and we are left in the dark as to what happened in Arrān and its capital Janza (Ganza). The gap lasts one hundred years, from 245/859 to *circa* 344/955. At this latter date Arrān was occupied by the Daylamite Musāfirids, and in 360/971 seized by the Kurdish Shaddādids.<sup>1</sup> Did any successors of Muhammad b. Khālīd continue his direct line, or did the caliph succeed in restoring his administration and appointments in Arrān? Only under 372/982 we hear of the occupation of Barda'a by Sharvan.

Thus the territory controlled by Muhammad b. Khālīd was much larger than that under the later rulers of Sharvān, when the river Kur formed the southern frontier of their dominions. On the other hand, despite the continuous interference of Sharvān in the affairs of al-Bāb, the latter had its own dynasty, and could not be considered as a *de jure* dependence of the Yazīdids.

§6. The further emancipation of the lords of Sharvan is connected with the disturbances after the death of Mutawakkil (247/861). The term *istabadda* is repeated in §9.

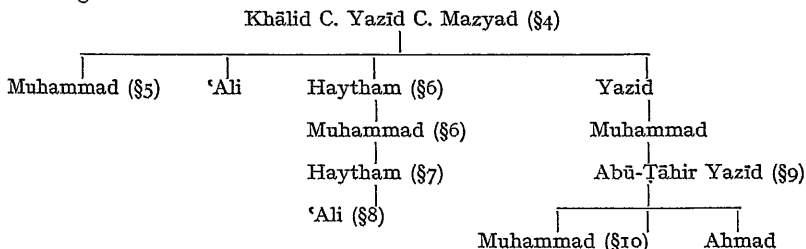
§7. Apart from the pious purposes of Haytham II, the granaries feeding the population of al-Bāb were likely to create some *de facto* dependence of the latter from Sharvan. Cf. the commentary to §9 (p. 61). The scarcity of information on Haytham is conspicuous.

§8. 'ALĪ b. HAYTHAM. Strangely enough the *T.-B.* (or its abridgment by Münejjim-bashī) has nothing about the invasion of the Rūs which took place about this time (cf. also §34). Mas'ūdī II, 21, 69, definitely says that the Rūs came to grips with the general "who commanded the troops on behalf of Ibn Alī al-Sāj" (perhaps somewhere in the region of Mūqān) and with 'Alī b. Haytham, "the then (*yauma'idhin*) king of Sharvan". The latter armed some boats which were sunk by the Rūs and thousands of Muslims were killed or drowned in the engagement. Consequently there were more blows to 'Alī b. Haytham's prestige than his capture in the war against Shandān which led to his overthrow in 305/917. The sequence of events remains obscure. In §8 the battle of Shandān is quoted under 300/912 but in §33 (in the reign of the amir of al-Bāb Muhammad b. Hāshim) it figures under 297/909. The invasion of the Rūs is quoted by Mas'ūdī after 300/912,

<sup>1</sup> See Minorsky, 'Caucasica (IV)' in BSOAS, 1953, XV/3, 514-29, and *Studies in Caucasian history*, 1953, p. 15.

while he admits that he could not remember the exact date (II, 24: *qad ghāba 'annī ta'rikhuhu*). The later historian of Gīlān Ṣāḥir al-dīn Mar'āshī (ed. Dorn, p. 302), speaks of the same invasion in the first half of 301/end of 913. He adds that the Rūs were first repelled by the Samanid governor, which points to the same time, for in 914 the Samanids lost control over the Caspian provinces. See Ibn-Isfandiyār, ed. A. Eghbal, 269 (tr. E. G. Browne, 200).

§9. The position of the branch of Layzān will be clearer from the following chart.



Our source presents ABŪ-ṬĀHIR YAZĪD b. MUHAMMAD b. Yazīd as the creator of the unified Sharvan and makes him reign in Sharvan thirty-three years (304-37/916-48). From §9 we learn that in 333/944 the people of al-Bāb recognised him as their ruler and he sent them his son Ahmad as his deputy. In §35 the version is different: in 330/942 "the sharvanshah Muhammad b. Yazīd" sent to al-Bāb his brother Ahmad b. Yazīd. Curiously enough Mas'ūdī, who wrote in 332/943, calls the reigning sharvanshah Muhammad b. Yazīd and considers him as the unifier of Lāyzān, Sharvān, \*Khursān and \*Vardān. This confusion is probably the result of the similarity in the names of Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd's father and son, both of whom bore the name of "Muhammad b. Yazīd." In view of the circumstantial information in §9, it is unlikely that Abū-Ṭāhir's father survived till so late and the version about Abū-Ṭāhir sending his son Ahmad to al-Bāb is to be preferred. Mas'ūdī does not seem to have visited Sharvan and thus may have confused the names. Perhaps the name of the sharvanshah in *Murūj*, II, 4 and 6, is only a later gloss, as Muhammad b. Yazīd succeeded his father within five years after the completion of the original draft of the *Murūj*. See below p. 142 on the successive revisions of the *Murūj*. According to MS. A (§35), in 330/942 "Muhammad b. Yazīd" sent his brother Ahmad b. Yazīd to al-Bāb. In MS. B "Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik" is an obvious howler. We have mentioned the improbability of the survival of Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd's father (Muhammad b. Yazīd) till 330/942, and we can add that, if the date of accession of Muhammad b. (Abū-Ṭāhir) Yazīd in 337/948 is correct, in 330/942 he could not have appointed his brother Ahmad b. Yazīd as his lieutenant in al-Bāb. All things told, it was only Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd who could have sent his son Ahmad b. Yazīd (unless Muhammad b. Yazīd acted as a co-regent even in his father's time). From §10 we learn that the relations between the brothers Muhammad and Ahmad were bad, at least after 334/948.

Several important events took place during the reign of Abū-Ṭāhir: struggles occurred in Bāb al-Abwāb; the rule of the Sājids was liquidated

in Azarbayjan; the Daylamite Musāfirids succeeded them and, in his early days, the Musāfirid Marzubān warred against the Rūs who occupied Barda'a. Finally the Byzantines under John Curcuas (since A.D. 923, see Muralt, *Chronologie*, I, 501, 505) carried on a forward policy and not only captured Theodosiopolis (Karin, Erzerum) but even laid siege to Dvin (Asōlik, III, ch. 6). We shall now examine the events of Abū-Ṭāhir's reign one by one.

(a) The details on Abū-Ṭāhir's interference in al-Bāb will also be found in §34. Already in 318/930 Abū-Ṭāhir's son Muhammad (governor of Layzān) clashed with the ruler of al-Bāb 'Abd al-Malik near Shābarān (§§9 and 34). Under 327/938 we hear (§35) of a Haytham b. Muhammad b. Yazīd (brother of Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd?) established as a ruler of Ṭabarsaran and then invited to al-Bāb by the local "chiefs". In 330/942, or in 333/944, Abū-Ṭāhir's other son Ahmad appeared in al-Bāb for a short time.

(b) For some time both Sharvan and al-Bāb remained within the orbit of the Sājid dynasty, which represented the caliph in Armenia and Azarbayjan (see §34). After the death of Yūsuf ibn Abī-al-Sāj (in 315/928) and his nephew (in 317/929), the dynasty was succeeded first by Waṣīf al-Sīrwānī (represented by a coin of 317/929) and then by Yūsuf's former slave Muflīḥ who, as a governor of Azarbayjan, is mentioned only once by I. Athir VIII, 173, under 319/931. In this year he led a punitive expedition against the Armenian king al-Dayrānī (of Vaspurakan), who had incited the Byzantines to attack the region of Bergri-Akhlat (north of Lake Van). Muflīḥ is said to have killed 100,000 (?) Armenians. He struck coins in 320 (Ardabil) and in 323 (Barda'a and Azarbayjan). After these dates the situation becomes obscure, until in 326/937-8 Daysam b. Ibrāhīm (a former officer of Yūsuf) is mentioned as the ruler of Azarbayjan, see Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, I, 398. On him and his coinage see now a special article by A. A. Bikov, *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 1955, X, 14-37.

In any case, there is an interruption in Muflīḥ's coinage between 320 and 323, and the report of Muflīḥ's flight to Sharvan and his extradition in 320 fits into this gap. The name of the amir بالدويه (*Bāldūya*), who expelled him from Azarbayjan, is unknown (see below §13), unless we take it for the name of Daysam's father which, according to I. Hauqal, 236, was شاذلويه (*Shādhūya*). Both names look similar in Arabic script. The real name of Daysam's father was Ibrāhīm. He was an Arab and a Kharijite who, after the death of his former leader,<sup>1</sup> arrived in Azarbayjan and married the daughter of a Kurdish chief, see Miskawayh II, 33. This may have been the reason why he received an additional (?) Iranian nickname. Daysam became the leader of the local Kurds. It is true that he began his career under Yūsuf ibn Abī-Sāj (died in 315/928) but his independent activities are known to us only between the years 326/938 and 346/957. In 320 Daysam was a fully grown-up man but it is quite thinkable that his father still played a prominent rôle in the family. Moreover, Daysam, in the beginning of his career,

<sup>1</sup> Namely, Hārūn al-Shārī, who was captured near Mosul in 283/896, see Ṭabari, III, 2109, 2141, 2149-51.

was on very friendly terms with the rulers of Vaspurakan and it is likely that his family resented Mufih's carnage in that kingdom.

It is less tempting to suspect in بالدويه the sipahbadh of Mūqān ابن دلوه (?) who is once mentioned among the opponents of Daysam in 326/938.

The episode of Mufih's flight to Sharvan surely finds some support in the indirect evidence of other sources and it is interesting as a test of reliability of the *Ta'rikh al-Bāb*.

(c) The northward expansion of the Daylamites<sup>1</sup> began after 330/941 when Marzubān and Vahsūdān (sons of Muhammad) agreed that the latter should remain in the hereditary Tārom and the former should undertake the conquest of Azarbayjan and the adjoining lands. There are indications that by 344/955 Marzubān's sway extended up to Darband, see below note to §35. The initial expulsion of the Daylamites from Sharvan is a new fact, though the agreement which followed this success possibly included a clause concerning the payment of a tribute.

The concession which Abū-Tāhir Yazīd made to the people of al-Bāb to secure their help against the Daylamites finds some explanation in the *Darband-nāma*.<sup>2</sup> In the year 270/883 (or 272/885) the caliph (Mu'tamid, or his brother and co-regent Muwaffaq?) issued an order by which he bestowed on the people of Darband the revenue of the oil-wells and the salt-lakes of the Bākū region. Muhammad b. 'Ammār was appointed superintendent to collect the yearly income and to distribute it among the warriors of Darband. In 290/903 the new superintendent appropriated the revenues, and seized two villages belonging to Darband in the neighbourhood of Shābarān. The people of Darband, deprived of the subventions, gave themselves up to trade and neglected their military duties. This encouraged the Khazars to besiege the town but they were beaten off under the command of the governor Muhammad b. Hāshim b. Surāqa. (After that) Muhammad b. Yazīd (the father of Abū-Tāhir Yazīd, who ruled before 305/917?) became the ruler of Darband. He appointed a steward (*nāẓir*) over the oil-wells and salt lakes and sealed an act by which the products were conceded to Darband. The record preserved in the *Darband-nāma* fits into our scheme (§7) and seems to belong to the original unabridged *Ta'rikh al-Bāb*.

(d) The reference to the plans of common action of Sharvan and the Daylamites against the Rūm, the Georgians and other infidels, figures in our text between the years 333/944 and 337/948. The object of the agreement was probably restricted to the Kur basin, for Daylamite attacks against Armenia began at a later date. It is true that in 938 Lashkarī b. Mardī, a lieutenant of the Ziyārid Wushmagīr, led an ill-starred raid into the territory of the Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan, but the earliest known Daylamite inroads into the Bagratid Armenia

<sup>1</sup> See my *Studies in Caucasian history*, 1953, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Kazem-bek, pp. 136, 138 and 228. I combine the details of three different MSS. For the earlier time see Balādhurī, 210: under the caliph Manṣūr the governor Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulami "sent someone to the oil-wells and salt-mines of the country of Sharvān and levied taxes on them. He put someone in charge of them". Here the destination of the revenue is uncertain.

(which vaguely might be associated with the Byzantines) happened in 982 (Asolik, III, ch. 12).

(e) In 332/943-4, i.e. in the days of Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd the Rūs carried out a new raid up the Kur and penetrated as far as Barda'a. Strangely enough this event, which struck the imagination of the Caucasians (cf. Nizāmī's *Iskandar-nāma*), and of which Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, II, 62-7, has preserved a graphic report by an eye-witness, is not mentioned in our source. It is possible that Münejjim-bashī, who quotes it in the chapter on the Musāfirids,<sup>1</sup> has omitted the record under Sharvan, because the principal opponent of the Russians was the Musāfirid Marzubān. At the time of the Russian raid our source (under 333/944) speaks only of some complications at al-Bāb. The subsequent operations of the Daylamites (i.e. of Marzubān?) against Sharvan may have been the result of some lukewarm attitude on the part of Abū-Ṭāhir during the Russian invasion.

§10. We know that already in 318/930 (§§9 and 34) MUHAMMAD b. Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd clashed with the people of al-Bāb but there is some difficulty in admitting that before his grandfather's death, if it occurred towards 305/917, this prince could have ruled Ṭabarsarān. From §35 we learn that before 327/939 his father's brother (?) Haytham b. Muhammad was the governor of Ṭabarsarān. In any case, Muhammad must have succeeded his father as a middle-aged man, as he ruled in 337-345.

As a parallel to §10 one can quote the valuable list of tributaries of the Musāfirid Marzubān (of the year 344/955) which has survived in Ibn-Hauqal's work (pp. 348, 354).<sup>2</sup> From it we learn that the contribution of "Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Azdi, lord of Sharvānshāh (*sic*, i.e. of Sharvān) and its king" was estimated at one million dirhams. In this text the *nisba* "al-Azdi" is probably an auditive mistake for *Yazidi*. In the time of Marzubān, only Muhammad b. *Abī-Ṭāhir Yazīd* would fit into the scheme, unless I. Hauqal, who finished his work *circa* 378/988, substituted to the original name that of his contemporary ruler Muhammad b. Ahmad who ruled in 370-81/981-91. The list quoted by I. Hauqal may be connected with Marzubān's presence in the neighbourhood of al-Bāb exactly in the year 344, see below note to §35.

From §§10-11 on our source gives most valuable new information which finds very few parallels in other available sources.

§§11-12. The rule of AHMAD b. MUHAMMAD coincided with a second northward expansion of the Daylamites under Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, on which the *T.-B.* is our only source. See also §35 and the chapter on Arrān, §8, in my *Studies*, p. 164.

Shābarān was a bone of contention between Sharvān and al-Bāb, see note to §14 and the geographical description of Sharvān, below p. 77.

§13. MUHAMMAD b. AHMAD (370-81/981-91). The lord of Qabala, 'Abd al-Barr b. 'Anbasa must be the son of that "'Anbasa, the

<sup>1</sup> See my *Studies in Caucasian history*, p. 161 (§4).

<sup>2</sup> Studied in detail by Minorsky, 'The Caucasian vassals of Marzubān in 344/955', in *BSOAS*, 1953, XV/3, 514-29.

One-eyed" who ruled in Mas'ūdī's time, see *Murūj*, II, 68, translated in Annex II. This is a further test of the accuracy of our source.

The occupation of Barda'a in 372/982 was an intrusion into the zone controlled by the Shaddādids. The town had a traditional importance as the ancient residence of the caliph's lieutenants. The episode of Mūsā b. 'Alī is characteristic for the ease with which adventurers proceeded in the tenth century.

On the revolution in al-Bāb caused by the appearance of Tūzī (in 378) see in more detail §36 where the date given is 379/989. To the fanatical preacher, the ruler of Sharvan apparently looked more orthodox than the ruler of al-Bāb who was supported by his Rūs guards. The name of the slave (*mamlūk*) who wounded Muhammad b. Ahmad is curious, though it reminds one of the name of the amir mentioned half a century earlier (§9).<sup>1</sup>

§14. The reign of YAZĪD b. AHMAD (381-418/991-1029) is an important period in the history of Sharvan.

The developments near Qabala in 383/992 continued the struggle of 371/981, and under 389/999 we hear again of 'Abd al-Barr b. 'Anbasa who this time lost Gurzūl (on the Gök-chay). In 416/1025 Gurzūl was still in the hands of the sharvanshah. In Mas'ūdī's time (*Murūj*, II, 68), Shakkī had a ruler called Adarnarsē b. Humām, see below p. 83. On the uncertainty of the term *Shakkī* in the mouth of our author, see above p. 84.

The perpetual struggle with al-Bāb continued and Shābarān remained in the centre of events (cf. §37). The estate *Z.rqiya* (*Rizqiya*?)<sup>2</sup> may have been one of those places which were assigned to the *ghāzīs* of al-Bāb (see note to §11). One cannot say whether *Z.rqiya* is identical with *Marzūqiya* mentioned in §9.

It is noteworthy that the sharvanshah's brother still (cf. §33) resided in one of the villages of Tabarsaran ("estate of Muhammad"). It shows how political frontiers were uncertain and entangled, owing to the private holdings of the princes. In any case al-Bāb itself was often in the hands of the sharvanshahs.

Our source does not disclose the identity of Yazīd b. Ahmad's wife, but the Iranian names which prevailed among his sons are highly significant and suggest that some link was established by the amir with some noble Iranian family,<sup>3</sup> see 116. This is a point at which the Arab origin of the Yazīdids becomes obliterated by the influence of the surroundings. All the later authors were firmly convinced of the ancient Iranian origin of the sharvanshahs. See Rashīd al-dīn, *Mukātabāt*, 130, Faḍlullāh, *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, f.141b.

In the reign of Yazīd b. Ahmad we hear for the first time of social unrest and the disloyalty of the inhabitants of the capital.

Two coins of *al-malik al-muwaffaq al-muzaffar Abū-Naṣr Yazīd b. Ahmad sharvānshāh*—on one of which the name of the caliph Qādir (381-422/991-1031) is mentioned—were described in 1909 by A. K. Markov, who rightly took this ruler for a *Mazyadid* (i.e. in our terminology,

<sup>1</sup> It would be hazardous to seek in it some *Nordic* name, like Baldur!

<sup>2</sup> From *rizq* "pittance, daily bread".

<sup>3</sup> Possibly of Shābarān (*Shāburān*).

a *Yazīdīd*). Pakhomov (1938) ascribes to him a coin with the name of Ṭā'i' which does not necessarily affect the chronology of the *T.-B.*, because this caliph ruled from 368 down to 381, and the coin may have been struck in 381. The title *muzaffar* given to Yazīd on a coin may refer to one of the intermittent periods of occupation of al-Bāb by the Sharvānians.

§15. MINŪCHIHHR b. YAZĪD (418-25/1027-34). On the invasion of the Rūs in 421/1030 see the chapter on Arrān, §10 (*Studies*, p. 76). From §38 it appears that the Rūs were also associated with the formidable raid of 423/1032 which, according to §15, the Sarīr and the Alāns carried out in Sharvān.

The treacherous princess Sitt (a personal name!) was a daughter of Faḍl b. Muhammad and sister of Mūsā b. Faḍl (422-5/1031-4), see the chapter on Arrān, §§10-11. On the family relations see below note to §19.

§16. ABŪ-MANŠŪR 'ALĪ b. YAZĪD (425-35/1034-43). The marriage concluded between his sister Shamkūya and the amir of al-Bāb (cf. §39), instead of diminishing, increased the causes of friction with al-Bāb, for the "chiefs" considered the princess as a Trojan horse moved into position by the sharvānshah.

§17. QUBĀD b. YAZĪD (435-41/1043-9). By 437/1045 Yazīdiya had existed as a town over a century and a quarter (see §9). In Qubād's reign we hear for the first time of the Turkish menace which necessitated the fortification of the capital.

§18. BUKHT-NAŠŠAR and SALLĀR (441-55/1049-63). The castle Mālū' (Mālūgh), or Bālūgh, is also mentioned in §26. On its location see below p. 84. Sallār was married to the daughter of the Shaddādid Abul-Aswār (§19 and the chapter on Arrān §15).

Khāqānī's ode quoted below, p. 68, seems to contain a hint at Sallār's journey to Mayyāfāriqīn and at some relations established by him with the "sālār of Syria". At the period in question (440-55/1048-1063) the Marwānid Naṣr al-daula (of Kurdish origin) was the ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn (402-53/1011-61) but the identity of "the sālār of Syria" is doubtful.

A coin of *al-malik (al-muwaffaq) Abū . . . Sallār b. Yazīd* is quoted in Pakhomov's article (1938), p. 423.

§19. FARĪBURZ (455-/1063-). Practically only the name of this king was known until quite recently when some documents from his chancery came to light in a collection of letters of Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār, see V. Minorsky and Cl. Cahen, 'Le recueil Transcaucasien', in *Jour. As.*, 1949, pp. 93-142. The author of the *T.-B.*<sup>1</sup> was clearly a contemporary of Farīburz, for he gives a mass of first-hand facts on this important reign.

The three invasions of Shāvur b. Faḍl are also described in the chapter on Arrān (§15 of my edition), though the reason of the complications remains obscure. The matrimonial links of the two families were complex. Sitt, daughter of the Shaddādid Faḍl, was married first to Minūchihr (A.D. 1029-34) and then to his brother Abū-Manšūr (A.D. 1034-43).

<sup>1</sup> Or at least his immediate ancestors?



The daughter of Abul-Aswār Shāvr, a younger son of Faḍl, was married to Sallār<sup>1</sup>—a younger brother of Minūchihr, Abu-Mansūr, Qubād and Ahmad. In other words Sitt was an aunt of Sallār's wife. Towards A.D. 1063 Abul-Aswār attacked his nephew Fariburz. By this time Abul-Aswār was an old man because, before his appearance in Janza (Ganja) in A.D. 1049, he, as the ruler of Dvin, had made for himself a reputation among the Byzantines (see the chapter on Arrān, §14).

Fariburz appealed for help to his (?) father-in-law, the ruler of Sarīr, to whom he sent his son Afrīdūn accompanied by Anūshirvān b. Lashkarī. The only Anūshirvān b. Lashkarī b. Mūsā b. Faḍl who appears in the *T.-B.* is the infant prince of Arrān, proclaimed in Arrān in 441/1042 and then deposed by his grandfather's brother Abul-Aswār Shāvr (see the chapter on Arrān, §13). According to the Byzantine sources he was carried off to Constantinople but quite possibly he turned up again in Transcaucasia. By 1063 he must have been twenty-one years old. The text is not quite explicit as to who of the two envoys was considered the grandson of the ruler of Sarīr. We know that the father of Anūshirvān married a concubine of his father's, and then the widow of the amir of Tiflis, see *Studies*, p. 46, but he may have had other wives. It is more likely, however, that Fariburz himself was married to a princess of Sarīr. Anūshirvān may have been useful only as a man with a personal grievance against his grand-uncle Abul-Aswār.

On the Darband side, Fariburz is represented as moved by his affection for his cousin, son of his aunt Shamkūya. His occupation of al-Bāb makes more intelligible his efforts to spread Islam among the Ghumīq of Daghestan, see the documents published by Minorsky and Cahen, *Jour. As.*, 1949, p. 138. In this connection too, he may have been in relations with the Sarīr.

§20. The story of the first penetration of the Turks into Transcaucasia is full of fresh dates and unknown names. The picture of the sufferings of the population is told soberly but unequivocally. Fariburz must have been a man of great diplomatic skill to cope with the situation and to save his own skin. We shall sum up this interesting material separately from other incidental matter.

Our author mentions the Ghuz danger for the first time under 437/1045, see above note to §17. There must have been numerous infiltrations of the Turks but only in 458/1066 (§20) their looting took such proportions that Fariburz had to pay a ransom to ward the invaders off. In November 1066 the chief Qara-tegin arrived for the second time,<sup>2</sup> with Fariburz's uncle as a candidate for collaboration. The countryside of Yazīdiya and Bākū was laid waste. The Turks captured Fariburz's stud which he had evacuated to Masqaṭ. The siege of Yazīdiya continued but a stratagem to lure the sharvanshah to come out of his stronghold failed. When the sultan's *hājib* came for the second (?) time, Fariburz bribed him in order to destroy, first of all, an internal foe, his own uncle. Possibly a similar kind of encouragement induced the

<sup>1</sup> Lashkarsitān, the son of an unnamed maternal uncle of Fariburz (see §21, under 459/1067) must have been the son of one of this lady's brothers.

<sup>2</sup> Was he with the raiders of 458/1066?

Turks to re-cross the Kur. Almost immediately after, some representatives of El-basan (?), lord of Qazvīn, arrived with a request to Fariburz to pay the agreed tribute of 30,000 dinars in view of restraining the Turks from doing mischief.

Later in the year 459/1067 (§21) arrived the chiefs Qaymas (Qiymas?) and Qara-tegin. To the latter Fariburz gave his cousin in marriage, but Qaymas soon died (poisoned?).

Still later in the year (§22), the arrival of Sultan Alp-Arslan marked a new stage in the events. Both Fariburz of Sharvān and Faḡl b. Shāvur of Arrān waited on him, with this difference that the former brought with him his offerings, and the latter the keys of his treasure-house. The sharvanshah accompanied the sultan on his campaign, but meanwhile he took advantage of the new protector to punish some of his personal enemies.

When the sultan returned from his campaign in Asia Minor, the people of al-Bāb brought a complaint against Fariburz and the sultan, changing his attitude, imprisoned the sharvanshah and then released him only to exact from him a large ransom (see below p. 120). The son of the sharvanshah, Afrīdūn, had to leave al-Bāb. During all this time Fariburz faced the disobedience of two of his relatives and of the population of Yazīdiya, and yet he contrived to maintain some grip on al-Bāb, even at the cost of heavy battles (§23). Afrīdūn was restored in al-Bāb. Feeling that his position in the plains was precarious, Fariburz transferred his residence nearer to the Caspian, to Mihiyāriya (in Masqat), see below note to §24.

A new blow fell when in November 1071 (§25) the Turk Yaghmā was sent to al-Bāb as a governor on behalf of Alp Arslan, and the "chiefs" of al-Bāb marched on Masqat—that last refuge of Fariburz. Still undaunted, he continued to attack his Christian neighbours in the west. Even al-Bāb was not entirely lost.

In 467/1074 (§27) a new Turkish force arrived under the command of Arghar (Arkhar?) b. Buqa who claimed to have received Sharvan as a fief, but again Fariburz, by his diplomacy, obtained redress from the Sultan, and meanwhile completed the subjugation of the Lakz (§28).

Only with the grant to Sau-tegin (amir of the two Iraqs) of a fief comprising the March of al-Bāb, and with the arrival of his representative (§29), Fariburz was reduced to the position of a Seljuk vassal paying a yearly tribute.<sup>1</sup>

We shall now resume the non-Turkish points of the last chapters.

§21. The personal name of the Christian opponent of Fariburz is badly mutilated. The nearest Christian neighbour to the west of Sharvan was the Georgian king of Kakhetia, in the Alazan valley. His possessions (or influence) may have extended even to the east of this river, and therefore, looking from Sharvan, he appeared as the ruler of Shakkī.

<sup>1</sup> A. Kasravi, with his usual keenness, identified the dedicatee of two of Qatrān's odes with ('Imād al-daula) Abū-Manṣūr (Sau-tegin), *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, III, 55-6; see now Qatrān's *Divān*, 1333/1954, pp. 133, 148. In them the poet hints at Sau-tegin's exploits in capturing Basāsīrī and in defeating the Georgians (from whose hands he rescued amir Faḡlūn) and the army of Qavurd of Kerman. Thus Sau-tegin must have been a contemporary of Tughril, Alp Arslan and Malik-shah.

This geographical terminology is also clear in the chapter on Arrān, see Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 65. Akhsartān,<sup>1</sup> son of Gagik, was the name of the contemporary ruler of Kakhetia (1058–84), who was usually on bad terms with the king of Western Georgia (Abkhāz, as it was called by the Muslims, in view of the origin of the dynasty). At the time in question the "Abkhaz" ruler was the energetic Bagrat IV (1027–72), son of Giorgi I (1041–27). In our text *ibn K.rkī* most certainly refers to the "son of Giorgi", and the king in question was Bagrat IV, who may have been known to the Sharvanians by some nickname. This was the period when Bagrat was at war with Alp-Arslan, whereas Akhsartān, to save his position, had accepted Islam, see *Akhbār al-dawlat al-saljūqiya*, ed. M. Iqbal, p. 44 (where the names are also mutilated). In 460/autumn 1068, Faḍl b. Shāvur of Arran fell into the hands of Akhsartān and the latter surrendered him to Bagrat for the price of two fortresses (see the chapter on Arrān, *Studies*, §17). The castle which our author calls *qal'a Daskarat al-Husayn* (or *al-Junayn*?) could not be identified (see below p. 84, n. 4), but it must have stood within the territory of Shakki. It is possible that the date of the conflict with the Georgians is given slightly too late. In any case before Alp Arslan's campaign in Georgia (1067–8), Bagrat's operations extended up to Herethi (west of Shakki on the lower Alazan). Some previous agreement with the Georgians (before they showed "signs of revolt") can be deduced from the incident of April 1065 when the Georgians (?) seem to have been used for the repression of a revolt in Farīburz's capital (§19).

§22. See the commentary on §20.

§23. For the story of Farīburz's attacks on al-Bāb in 461/1068 see, in less detail, §42 where the local amir 'Abd al-Malik, and not Guzhdaham, is placed in the foreground. The auxiliaries who saved the situation were from Khaydāq and Ṭaviq (?). The latter place is possibly Tivak (Russian map: *Düvek*) in Tabarsaran (cf. Genko, in *Trudi vtoroy sessii arabistov*, 1937, p. 105).

§24. In the chapter on Arran, *Studies*, §18, it is explained that, during the captivity of Faḍl b. Shāvur in Georgia, the lord of Sharvan (Farīburz) raided Arrān. On recovering his freedom Faḍl invaded Sharvan and had his *khutba* read in Bāb al-abwāb.

Farīburz's retreat to Mihyāriya indicates that, in view of the Turkish oppression and the disloyalty of the population of his capital, Yazīdiya, he planned to reshape his dominions by moving the centre nearer to the Caspian, possibly with an eye to the final incorporation of Darband.

§25. On the relations of Farīburz with the "chief" of al-Bāb, Mufarrij, see in more detail §§39–44.

§26. On the previous events in Mālūgh see §18. The expedition of 464/1072 is also mentioned in the chapter on Arrān, §18.

§28. On the Lakz see below, in the section on the geography of Sharvan, p. 80.

§29. Our chronicle stops before the death of Farīburz and the report that he was succeeded by his son Afrīdūn must be an addition made by Mūnejjim-bashi.

<sup>1</sup> This name is of Alan origin.

A passing remark in Bundarī (abridging 'Imād al-dīn) p. 140, indicates that, when Malik-shāh crossed Arrān, the lord of Sharvān, Fariburz, *ba'da imtinā'ihi* (i.e. "after a period of unwillingness, or even resistance?") came to wait on him and accepted to pay 70,000 dinars yearly (which sum in later times came to be lowered to 40,000). In the *Akhhār*, ed. M. Iqbal, p. 73, it is also said: "when (Malik-shāh) happened to be passing through Arran, he sent (someone) to the sharvanshah. The latter submitted to him (*atā'ahu*) and (the Sultan) imposed on him a yearly contribution of 70,000 dinars". The exact year of this expedition is unknown but Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, *Selçuklular devri*, I, 1944, p. 111, places it in 1078-9.

Apart from this, Khāqānī in an ode dedicated to Princess 'Īsmat al-dīn, ed. Tehran, p. 415, compares the pilgrimage she accomplished with some other journeys undertaken by her relatives:

"Old Sālār travelled to Māfārqīn, and the Syrian sālār gave him his pledge (*dimān*). But you have made a journey which is a pledge of Paradise!

"Your old ancestor (*jadd*), shah Fariburz, went to see Malik-shāh and entered Isfahan. But you have found kingship and shāhdom in the sanctuary at which a hundred Malik-shāhs have become hostages."<sup>1</sup>

There exist coins struck by Fariburz with the names of Muqtadi and Malik-shah (i.e. within the period of 465-85/1072-92) and even with the name of Mustazhir (who began to rule in 487/1094), see Pakhomov, *A short history of Azarbayjan* (in Russian), Baku 1923. In the documents included in Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār's correspondence, the life of Fariburz can be traced to the nineties of the tenth century but at this point the chronology becomes unreliable. The documents suggest that Fariburz finished by establishing his authority even in Arrān where the local dynasty, as it seems, had become extinct. In a poem which Mas'ūd dedicated to Fariburz he enumerates his conquests: Mūqān, —down to the sea, Ghūmīq and سلوار (perhaps: شندان \**Shandān*)—down to the Alans; he subjugated the Abkhāz (i.e. the Georgians) and conquered Arrān and Janza (Ganja).

As a result of all these new facts, we have now a much clearer picture of the reign of the able ruler Fariburz who not only tided over the storms of the Seljuk invasion but secured the rights of his dynasty. However, the order of his successors is not very clear. The *T.-B.* refers only to one son of Fariburz, namely Afrīdūn, whom his father had tried to establish in al-Bāb. This trend of his activities tallies with the indication of the Georgian Chronicle that an Afridun perished in the war between Sharvan and Darband in 514/1120. In one of Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār's documents Fariburz speaks of a son of his having the title *al-'Aḍud*. We cannot say whether this title belonged to Afrīdūn, but we know that Fariburz had at least one other son, Mīnūchihr, whose undated coin bears the names of the caliph Mustazhir (487-512) and Sultan Muḥammad (b. Malik-shāh). As the latter ruled in 498-511/1105-18, Mīnūchihr must have been on the throne *before* the death of his brother Afrīdūn,

<sup>1</sup> The references in Bundarī and Khāqānī have been first found by Prof. Hādī Hasan in his *Falakī*, 1929, p. 5, but I have slightly improved the sequence of verses in the ode.

see Pakhomov, *l.c.* We have no evidence yet to decide whether he was the direct successor of Farīburz, or whether he, at least temporarily, usurped the rights of his brother? The fact is that after Minūchihr I we find on the throne another Minūchihr who on his coins calls himself "ibn Afrīdūn" and mentions the name of the caliph Muqtafi (530-55/1136-60). This is the patron of Khāqānī on whom see §49. So far the tradition of the Yazīdī family was uninterrupted. For the later descendants see Annex I.

## B. BĀB AL-ABWĀB

§31. The introductory paragraph on Masqaṭ is an addition by Miñejjim-bašī. Balādhuri, 197, confirms that Masqaṭ (now Mushkūr) had kings who were first appointed by Anūshīrvān, adding that "their kingship had been abolished". On p. 207, speaking of Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik's conquest, he contrasts the "shāhs" of Sharvan, \*Layzān, Tabarsarān, Filān and \*Khursān, with the "lord (*ṣāhib*) of Masqaṭ", cf. also Ya'qūbī, 104 (already under 'Othmān the peace was concluded with the *people* of Masqaṭ).

§32. Several governors with the *nisba* Sulamī figure in the history of Arab administration in Armenia but it is noteworthy that, according to the *T.-B.*, the founders of the dynasty of al-Bāb were only clients (*mawālī*) of the Banū-Sulaym. For the family of Hāshim b. Surāqa, whom our source considers as the founder of the dynasty of al-Bāb, we have an interesting indication earlier than 255/869. According to the excellent Ya'qūbī, II, 518, when Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809) sent Sa'īd b. Salm al-Bāhili to Armenia, the lord (*ṣāhib*) of al-Bāb was Najm b. Hāshim. Some months after, the inhabitants of al-Bāb opposed Sa'īd and set upon his financial agent (*āmīl*). Sa'īd put Najm to death but then Najm's son حيون Ḥayyūn (Ḥannūn? Jayyūn?) openly revolted and got in touch with the khāqān of the Khazars who arrived with an army, caused great damage to the Muslims and advanced up to the Araxes.<sup>1</sup> Rashīd disapproved of Sa'īd's actions and dismissed him. Three governors, one after the other, were appointed to Armenia until finally the country was pacified by Yazīd b. Mazyad (died in 185/801), the founder of the dynasty of Sharvān (see above §1). We know nothing about the fate of the rebel Ḥayyūn (Jayyūn) but, according to our source, the family continued in al-Bāb and Ḥayyūn's great-grandson rose (in 255/869) as a founder of an autonomous dynasty. The *Darband-nāma* refers to the same events, though in its numerous versions the dates are uncertain. Our author, who is favourable to the Hāshimids, omits to mention the blemish in their antecedents. The name Abul-Najm in §34 may be a reminiscence of the founder of the dynasty. On his and his three sons' campaigns against his heathen and Christian neighbours (Sarīr, Shandān) see below pp. 97, 101.

<sup>1</sup> Tabari III, 648 (year 183/799) calls Najm *Munjam* al-Sulami and omits the name of his son. He states that "never in Islamic times had one heard of (a calamity) similar (to this Khazar invasion)".

§33. The capture of Muhammad b. Hāshim is also referred to in §8, but again our source fails to mention the invasion of the Rūs (Mas'ūdī, II, 18) which seems to have come in the wake of this disaster.

§34. With the accession in 916 of Hāshim's third son 'ABD al-MALIK (303-27/916-39), quarrels began in the family. 'Abd al-Malik had to seek support from the governor of Azarbayjan Yūsuf b. Abul-Sāj and then from the Khazars. Cf. p. 69, n. 1.

Our source tones down the character of the relations of 'Abd al-Malik with the Sājids (see our notes to §9). In point of fact, Yūsuf b. Abul-Sāj himself visited al-Bab and on instructions from Baghdad rebuilt the walls of the town.<sup>1</sup> Hilāl al-Šabī, ed. Amedroz, pp. 217-8, quotes the report of Abū-'Alī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥamdūn, who accompanied Yūsuf to the "districts of al-Bāb". Yūsuf sent to Baghdad an estimate of the repairs for 70,000 (dirhams?), but the vazir Abul-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt reminded him of the material stored up in al-Bāb by the Sasanian Anūshirvān, and the expense was reduced merely to the workmen's wages. Abul-Ḥasan was vazir three times (18 Jan. 909-22 June 912; 6 May 917-31 Oct. 918, and 31 July 923-19 June 924). Consequently Yūsuf's visit to Darband most likely took place during the early part of Abul-Ḥasan's second term of office. Soon after, in 305/917-8, the caliph had to send an army against Yūsuf. Yūsuf, operating in the region of Rayy, defeated Khāqān al-Mufliḥi and his successor Mu'nis, but in Muharram 307/June 919 Mu'nis captured Yūsuf and took him to Baghdad, see R. Vasmer, *o.c.*, pp. 9-10. 'Abd al-Malik must have been expelled by his nephew during this period and the fall of his protector possibly moved him to seek the help of the Khazars—in conformity with the family tradition. On the whole, the chronology of our source seems to be correct.

On 'Abd al-Malik's clash with the sharvanshah see above §9. The identity of *M. rāfsa*, *M. rāqba*, *Marāuna* (?) and Arān (?) could not be ascertained but the infidels inhabiting these two places may have been connected with Shandān, see below p. 102.

According to our source 'Abd al-Malik died in 327/939, and Mas'ūdī, II, 7, five years later, speaks of 'Abd al-Malik as a ruler who *used* to rule in al-Bāb.

§35. AHMAD b. 'ABD al-MALIK (327-66/939-76). The infancy of this prince at his accession accounts for the confusion which ensued in al-Bāb. At this period the nefarious rôle of the "chiefs" becomes conspicuous and the intervention of the Sharvanians continuous.

The first outsider invited to al-Bab after 327/939, Haytham b. Muhammad b. Yazīd, may have been the brother of Abū-Ṭāhir b. Muhammad b. Yazīd (§9), different from Haytham b. Muhammad b. Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd, mentioned under 357/968, §12. On the further confusion in Sharvanian pedigrees in §§9 and 35 see our commentary on §9. Mas'ūdī II, 5, must refer to these troubles when he writes that, after the death of his son-in-law 'Abdullāh b. Hishām (*read*: 'Abd al-Malik b. Hāshim who died in 327/939), the sharvanshah Muhammad b. Yazīd (*read*: Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd who died only in 337/948) took possession of al-Bāb.

<sup>1</sup>Already in 296/908 Yūsuf's implacable persecution of the Armenians took him down to Tiflis, see R. Vasmer, *On Sājid coins* (in Russian), Baku 1927, p. 17.

After a series of Sharvanian appointments, in 342/953 we hear of the invitation to al-Bāb of the king of the Lakz whose name is badly transmitted as *Q.sh.rsh.m* Ahmad b. Munabbih. In the note on the Lakz (see below p. 80) it will be explained why the first part of the name should be restored as \**Khashram*.

The disturbances in the region of al-Bab may have been, at least partly, stimulated by the activity of the Daylamites. From Miskawayh, *The eclipse*, II, 161 (transl. V, 172) we learn that in 344/955 Marzubān was away from Azarbayjan suppressing a local rebellion in the neighbourhood of al-Bāb. The arrival of Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān in 358/968 was a second wave of the northern expansion of the Daylamite Musāfirids.

§36. MAYMŪN b. AHMAD (366-87/976-97). The unruly "chiefs" again took advantage of the youth of their amir (seventeen years old) to reduce him to the position of a puppet.

On Maymūn's dramatic experience with the Rūs mercenaries which led to his first deposition see below p. 114. As suggested, the harbouring of the Rūs in al-Bāb may have been the cause of the intervention of the preacher Mūsā al-Tūzī who, as a native of Gilan, was probably impressed by the recent Russian depredations in the region of Mūqān and apprehensive of new attacks on the southern coast of the Caspian.

§§37-38. After the two short reigns (of Muhammad and Lashkari), that of MANŠŪR b. MAYMŪN b. AHMAD lasted thirty-one years (393-425/1003-34), amidst struggles with Sharvan and the northern invaders (cf. §14). This time the amir tried to lean on the king of the Sarīr whose daughter was his wife.

Under 423/1025 there is some discrepancy with §15. There the two raids are distinguished: that of the Rūs in 421/1030, and that of the Alān and the Sarīrians in 423/1032, whereas in §38 the aggressors, despoiled of their booty by the people of al-Bāb, are said to have been the Rūs. In any case in the following year the Rūs *and* the Alans returned with the intention of revenge. Collusion of all the anti-Muslim elements is of course thinkable. But the fact is that the Sarīrians are not mentioned in §38, possibly in view of Manšūr's marriage links.

The part which the people of Karakh took in repelling the aggressors in 424/1033 must have been a result of their conversion in 385/995 (§36). The events of 429/1037 and 432/1040 (§39) show, however, that Islam sat lightly on them. On the versatile Haytham b. Maymūn al-Bā'ī (*sic*) see below pp. 96, 124.

§39. 'ABD al-MALIK (425-34/1034-43). His predecessors, in their struggle against the oligarchy of the chiefs and the territorial appetites of Sharvan, tried to lean on mercenaries and the petty kings of Daghestan. When his fickle-hearted subjects expelled 'Abd al-Malik and let in the sharvanshah, the amir managed to re-occupy his fief but decided to turn a new leaf by marrying the Sharvanian princess Shamkūya, thus himself assuming the rôle of the Sharvanian candidate. The clique of the "chiefs" immediately felt the disadvantages of a united front directed against them. Frightened by the murder of his vazir, 'Abd al-Malik fled to Sharvan. His brother-in-law Abū-Manšūr 'Alī (§16) gave him the necessary support and imprisoned a number of the "chiefs" of al-Bāb. 'Abd al-Malik remained entrenched in the citadel while the intrigues of

the "chiefs" continued. They even expelled Shamkūya to Sharvan. In the meantime, al-Bāb was attacked by the neighbouring tribes of Shandān and Khaydāq.

Henceforth the author's information grows more detailed and we learn the names of numerous personalities among the chiefs (see below p. 124). The year of 'Abd al-Malik's death 434/1043 is also recorded in the *Darbānd-nāma*, 140 (with a mistake: 430, instead of 434).

§40. The reign of MANŠŪR b. 'ABD al-MALIK (434-57/1042-65) is a turning point in the history of the Hāshimids, and our source enables us to follow in detail the struggle of the amir with the unruly aristocracy. The chiefs, reckoning on the youth of the amir, did not object to his accession, even though his energetic mother Shamkūya stayed with her child. After the death of the chief Abul-Fawāris 'Abd al-Salām, who acted as regent, Manšūr became "independent" and, as a result, was expelled with his mother. His brother Lashkari (probably born of another mother), elected in his place, was killed by a *ghulam* of Manšūr's (in 446/1055) and Manšūr returned with the help of the Sarīrians. He secured the help of the Khaydāq and other neighbours and renewed his struggle against the chiefs. Probably with the assistance of his able mother, he succeeded in separating the townsmen from the aristocratic "chiefs". The latter were only too glad when before long the valiant amir was attacked by the Sarīrians. The death of the respected leader of the chiefs 'Ali b. Ḥasan b. 'Anaq in 456/1064 gave a signal to disturbances. This chief kept the balance between the amir—who later married his daughter—and the aristocracy. The new head of the chiefs, the formidable Mufarrij b. Muẓaffar, took an extraordinary decision by leading the exodus of his friends from al-Bāb. When clashes began between the chiefs and the amir, the Ghumiq infidels profited by the discord to raid al-Bāb. The exiles retreated to the territory of the Lakz, while the amir sought allies in Khaydāq. Despairing of success, Mufarrij devised a ruse to murder Manšūr with utmost treachery and ruthlessly dragooned the lower classes of al-Bāb who had joined the amir against the aristocracy.

§41. The sharvanshah Farīburz (§19) did not let the murder of his aunt's son pass unpunished. No sooner did he settle his quarrel with the ruler of Arrān than he marched on al-Bāb (in 457/1065), while Mufarrij went to the Sarīr and came back with the host of its ruler (whose daughter he had married). There must have been some dissensions between him and the other members of the local aristocracy, because our source speaks of the "peace" made by them. This time agreement was reached on the appointment of the infant 'Abd al-Malik, who was the son of Lashkari by a lady of Khaydāq, and was brought up in Khaydāq. Mufarrij also took the oath of allegiance to him, but the interesting detail is that the infant amir was lodged in the house of Aghlab b. 'Ali, with whom Mufarrij was soon to quarrel. On the other hand, this appointment may have been unpleasant to the sharvanshah, because the late Lashkari had been an opponent of his brother (half-brother?) Manšūr born of the Sharvanian princess Shamkūya. By electing 'Abd al-Malik in 459/1065 the chiefs of al-Bāb eliminated the dreaded Sharvanian protectorate and set up a new puppet on the throne of the amirate.



The sharvanshah marched again on al-Bāb and this time obtained the release of his aunt Shamkūya, mother of the late Manšūr.

Despite the peaceful settlement, the crafty Mufarrij introduced into al-Bāb a new rival of Fariburz, namely his paternal uncle Mamlān,<sup>1</sup> and, using him as a banner, went, with his Sarīrian allies, to occupy Masqaṭ, a zone which Fariburz was about to adopt as his bulwark. However, the inhabitants of Shābarān put up a strong resistance, took Mufarrij prisoner and sent him to Fariburz. 'Abd al-Malik fled back to Khaydāq, while al-Bāb was re-occupied by the Sharvanians. Somehow Mufarrij recovered his freedom and re-appeared in al-Bāb with the support of the Sarīrians.

§42. In 458/1066 the Turks arrived in Sharvān (§19) and Fariburz had great difficulties with them. He only succeeded in liquidating (in 459/1067) his paternal uncle Mamlān, the former puppet of Muffarij's, who now was associated with the Turks.

From the chapter on Arrān (*Studies*, §18) we learn that Alp-Arslan himself arrived in Arrān in Dhul-Hijja 459/Oct.-Nov. 1067, and that the lords of Arrān and Sharvan waited on him. We further know that in 460/1068 the Sultan, having Sau-tegin in his van, went to Georgia and after five months returned via Ganja and Barda'a (in 460/1068), see *Akhbār*, ed. M. Iqbal, pp. 43-46. It was surely on this occasion that he sent Sau-tegin accompanied by the chief Aghlab b. 'Ali to al-Bāb. In §22 the campaign of Georgia is equivocally referred to as "campaign of Rūm" and in §42, still more vaguely, the sending of Sau-tegin to al-Bāb follows "the occupation of Azarbayjan". In any case the expedition of Sau-tegin was the *first* and temporary attempt of the Seljuks to establish their authority in al-Bāb.

Aghlab mentioned in this paragraph was born in 425/1032 and must be a son of 'Ali b. Aghlab whom the sharvanshah imprisoned in 427/1035.<sup>2</sup> He acted as tutor to the young amir 'Abd al-Malik. The pre-eminence of his relative Aghlab was not to Mufarrij's liking and, when clashes among them began, the prince of al-Bab 'Abd al-Malik re-emerged from his asylum in Khaydāq and was proclaimed in 460/1068. Mufarrij also went out to greet the prince.

It is curious to see to what an extent al-Bāb had lost its character of outpost of Islam, while the struggling parties were dependent on the help of the Daghestanian tribes: Mufarrij leaned on the Sarīr and 'Abd al-Malik on Khaydaq and the "kings of the mountains".

In 461/1068, when Fariburz of Sharvan had improved his relations with Sultan Alp-Arslan (§22), he marched on al-Bab under the pretext that his fugitive brother Guzhdaham had taken asylum with the "chiefs" (§23). This time, unexpectedly, Mufarrij changed sides and secured victory to Fariburz. The reason was that 'Abd al-Malik was supported by Mufarrij's rival Aghlab b. 'Ali. When the latter died on 28 December 1068, his *protégé* 'Abd al-Malik went back to his refuge in Khaydaq and Fariburz re-occupied al-Bab where he appointed his own son Afrīdūn.

<sup>1</sup> Whose name suggests some connection with the Rawwādids. See *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> The genealogies of the local chiefs still present great difficulties, see below, p. 124.

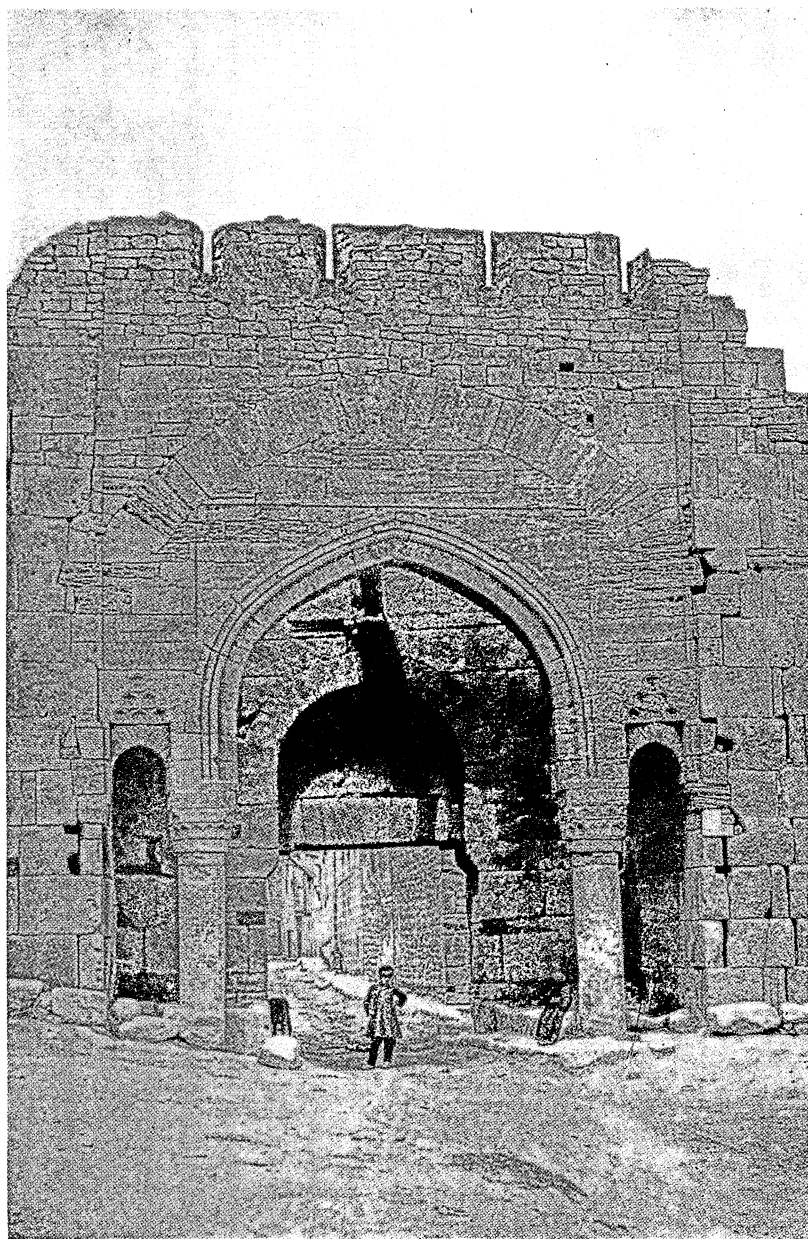
§43. In 463/1070 the struggle flared up between Sharvān and Arrān and the name of the ruler of Arrān (Faḍl b. Shāvur) was temporarily read in the *khutba* in al-Bāb, but in the following year the two princes made common cause, see the chapter on Arrān, §18.

§44. The second occupation of al-Bāb by the Seljuks took place in 464/1071, after Alp-Arslan's victory over the Emperor Romanus Diogenes (on 26 September) but, although the amir Yaghma took over in Darband, local intrigues continued unabated. 'Abd al-Malik, hostile to Sharvan, was several times brought back from his retreat in Khaydāq, but the wily "chief-of-chiefs", Mufarrij, saw his interest in continuing the line of *rapprochement* with Farīburz inaugurated in 461/1068. According to §26 the situation in al-Bāb remained unstable.

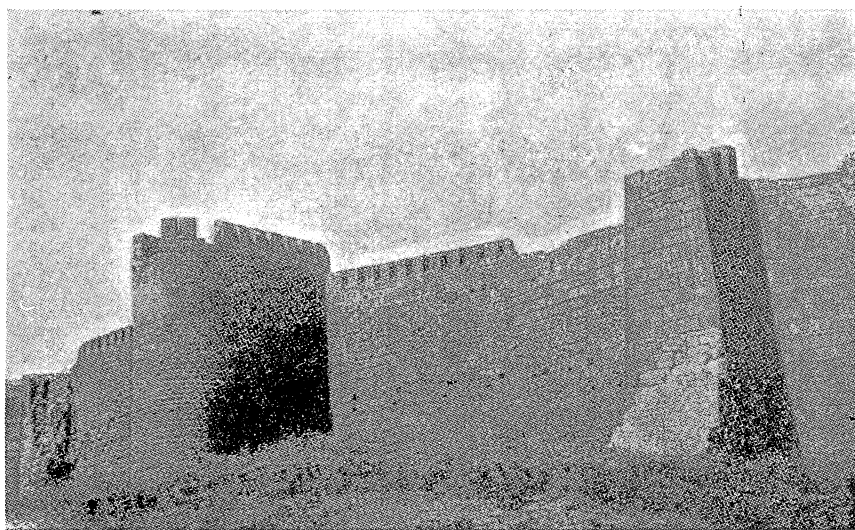
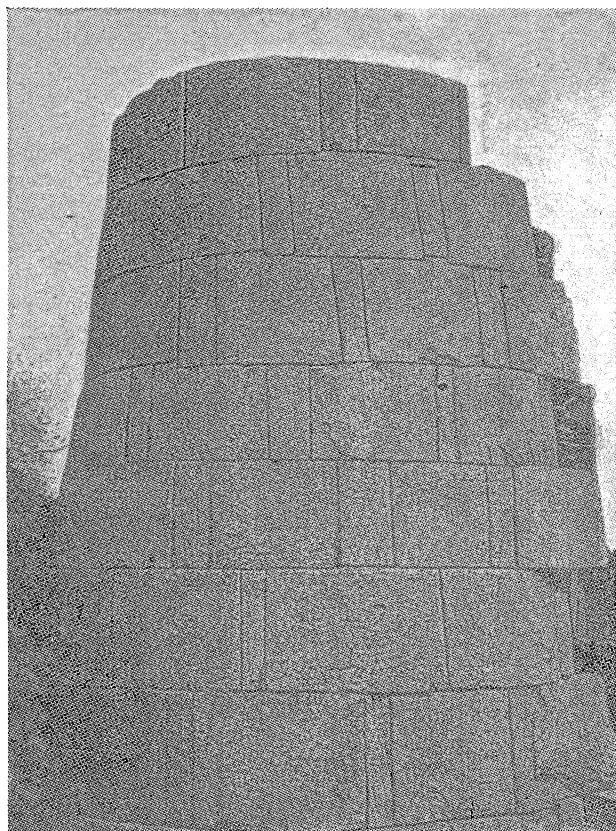
§§45-46. In 468/1075 the people of al-Bāb imprisoned 'Abd al-Malik in Ḥumaydiya and proclaimed his cousin Maymūn, grandson of the Sharvanian princess Shamkūya. This appointment must have eased the relations with Farīburz, but certainly embarrassed Mufarrij, the murderer of Maymūn's father Manšūr. Maymūn ruled only four months, after which the third period of Seljuk occupation began (see §§42 and 44), this time in a more radical way, because the *khutba* was read in the names of the Sultan and of Sau-tegin (see also the chapter on Arrān, §10). Thus a temporary stop was put to the age long ambition of Sharvan to annex al-Bāb.

The later information on the amirs of al-Bāb will be summed up in Annex II, but it is very scanty in comparison with the extremely circumstantial and accurate information of *Ta'rikh al-Bāb* which ends in 468/1075. We are left in the dark as to the end of Farīburz, 'Abd al-Malik and Mufarrij.

§47. A similar formula figures at the end of the chapter on Sharvān (§30), but both these chapters and the chapter on Arrān (§19) end in 468/1075.



THE BAYAT GATE OF DARBAND



TOWERS AND WALLS OF DARBAND

## GENERAL REMARKS

### §I. GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOLOGY IN THE TA'RĪKH AL-BĀB

#### A. SHARVĀN

In the tenth century the main territory of Sharvān consisted of the lands between the south-eastern spur of the Caucasian range and the river Kur. See map on p. 174.

To have a clear view of this area and its western prolongations one has to remember that it is watered by six rivers which descend from the southern face of the Caucasian mountains. The easternmost of them, Pīr-Saqat, has its outlet on the Caspian (between Baku and the estuary of the Kur). The others follow a north-to-south course in the direction of the Kur which they do not reach; they are (from east to west): the Akh-su, the Gardamān (on the upper course of which lies Lāhīj), the Gök-chay, the Tūriyān (on the upper course of which lay Qabala) and the Eljigen-chay (which collects the waters of eastern Shakki).<sup>1</sup> The seventh river, called Āgri-chay,<sup>2</sup> waters the northern part of Shakki, and flows east-to-west to join the Alazan (which latter, in a west-to-east direction, flows from Kakhetia to join the Kur).

The political centre of SHARVĀN at the period in question was Yazīdiya, built in 306/918 (see §9). It is possible that it was no new foundation but only the older Arab town of Shamākhiya (Shamākhī) rejuvenated by the Yazīdids.<sup>3</sup> Shamākhī is situated on a western headwater of the Pīr-Saqat river, at some 40 kms. to the east of the Akh-su. In 1734 Nadir-shah transferred the population of Shamākhī to a new site (at about 3 kms. to the south-east of the present-day village of Akh-su) but, after his death, the inhabitants returned to the old town. Yazīdiya was protected by the castle of Gulistān, perhaps corresponding to the "Amir's camp" (*lashkar-gāh*), which according to the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (§36, 36) stood at a distance of one farsakh from Shamākhī.

<sup>1</sup> In Mongol *eljigen* "an ass", now Alijan-chay.

<sup>2</sup> *Āgri*, in Turkish "flowing in the opposite direction".

<sup>3</sup> It must be noted, however, that in the chapter on Arrān (§15 under 455/1063) some distinction seems to be made between "the town of Sharvān" and Yazīdiya. According to Balādhurī, 210, Shammākhiya was named after al-Shammākh b. Shujā' who was *malik Sharvān* during the governorship of Sa'id b. Sālim (Salm?) al-Bāhili. The latter was appointed by Hārūn al-Rashīd and was in office towards 180/796 or 182/798, see Ṭabari, III, 645, 647. It is quite possible that Shammākh himself only rebuilt some old settlement.

One of the sharvanshah's letters quoted in Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār, *l.c.*, p. 133, is dated from Gulistān, which is given the title of *maqarr al-'izz*, "the seat of glory". According to V. M. Sīsoyev (1927), the ruins of Gulistān (now known as Qiz-qalasī) are situated on a height at some 3 kms. to the north-east of Shamākhi.

\*LĀYZĀN<sup>1</sup> (see *Hudūd*, 408), which is identical with the present-day Lāhij valley on the headwaters of the Gardamān, had been one of the Sasanian vassal principalities,<sup>2</sup> but in the period under our consideration was a part of Sharvān. Originally it constituted the fief of that junior branch of the ruling family which came to prominence under Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd (§9). Since his advent, Lāyzān had been incorporated in the united Sharvān but continued to be ruled by specially appointed princes. The village Kurdiyān (§11) corresponds to Kurdivān ("the place of the Kurds") which lies lower down on the Gardamān, see *Hudūd*, p. 407.

The SOUTHERN FRONTIER of Sharvān *grosso modo* coincided with the course of the Kur which divided it from the Kurdish Shaddādids who towards 359/969 became kings of Arrān (i.e. the territory between the Kur and the Araxes) whence they ousted the Daylamite Musāfrids.<sup>3</sup> South of the Kur, Barda'a (Partav), the former centre of Arab administration, was a contested territory (see events under 372/982, 378/988 and 436/1064), but for most of the time Barda'a, and especially Baylaqān, must have gravitated to the Shaddādīd orbit. Towards 455/1063 Abul-Aswār of Ganja led three raids into Sharvān and was welcomed by local Kurds. In 457/1065 the Kurds threatened Masqaṭ. In 461/1069 the name of Faḍl b. Abul-Asvār was read in the *khuṭba* in al-Bāb.

Lower down the Kur the sharvanshahs seem to have controlled the river down to its juncture with the Araxes (see the operations under

<sup>1</sup> Read: \*Lā'izān.

<sup>2</sup> This would be the explanation of Mas'ūdi's II, 4-6, which attributes to the sharvanshah (in 332/944) a pedigree going back to Bahrām Gūr and, at the same time, confirms the fact that originally he possessed only Layzān. According to Istakhri, 191, the frontiers of \*Lāyjān marched with Sharvān, Mūqāniya and \*Anbasiya (i.e., Qabala). I. Hāuqal, 244, quotes al-Lāyjān among the smaller principalities and towns of al-Rān and adds, 250, that it is adjacent to the Qabq range. Muqaddasi, 381, places it on the road: Shamākhiya—Sharvān (sic)—2 marḥalas; thence to \*al-Layjān—2 marḥalas; thence to the Samūr bridge—2 marḥalas; thence to Bāb al-Abwāb—1 marhala. (Something has gone wrong in this itinerary in which Sharvān may have been confused with \*Shābarān, and the latter has changed places in the enumeration with Lāyjān). On Mas'ūdi's passages, II, 69, see below, p. 162. This name appears with numerous mis-spellings: al-Iran, Abkhaz.

<sup>3</sup> See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, p. 13.

420/1029). Along the Caspian Sea the sharvanshahs possessed Bākū, although some rights on its oil-wells and salt-marshes were ear-marked for the upkeep of the ghāzīs of al-Bāb. A MS. of Iṣṭakhri, p. 189, which has several interesting additions, describes the course of the lower Araxes as follows: "It flows past the gate of Varthān (now ruins of Altan on its southern bank), reaches Mūqān, borders on a district (*rustāq*) of Sharvān called D.rnīq, which has excellent soil, and joins the Kur to disembogue into the sea of Tabaristan (Caspian)". \*Darnīq must correspond to the triangular wedge of territory above the confluence of the two rivers (at Javād).<sup>1</sup>

Near the bifurcation of the Kur (above its estuary) lay Gushtasfi (now Sāliyān, see *BSOAS*, 1954, XVI/3, 519), which judging by its name was possibly a Sharvānian foundation of a time later than *T.-B.* (see below pp. 129, 135).

SHĀBARĀN and MASQAṬ. On the north-eastern slope of the south-eastern branch of the Caucasian range and along the sea-coast lies a very fertile country watered by the rivers of the present-day district of Quba and the large river Samur (Sammūr). Originally it belonged to the Lazgi principalities (see below) and then was gradually annexed by the sharvanshahs to become the apple of discord between them, the princes of al-Bāb and even the rulers of Arrān. After the Turkish invasion and at the period of his struggles with Mufarrij of al-Bāb, Farībuz b. Sallār obviously intended to transfer the main centre of his dominions to this region.

Two territories are mentioned in this zone: Shābarān and Masqaṭ. The former is referred to as a part of Sharvān (§19) and the latter is specially described (by Mūnejjim-bashī) as a part of al-Bāb (§31). It is advisable, however, to treat them jointly not only because they belong to the same area, but also because more often Masqaṭ was occupied by Sharvān. The castle of Shābarān stood on the river of this name which flows south of the present-day Quba. The *Ḥudūd* spells the name *Shāv.rān* and the Georgian Chronicle (under A.D. 1124) *Shaburan* (see 1955 ed., p. 344), which suggests its connection with the Iranian name Shāvur (Shāpūr?), which is attested in the Caucasus, see *Studies*, p. 19, 34. The names \*Sharvān and \*Shāburān are certainly of different origin.

Already under 373/983 we hear that Muhammad b. Ahmad (§13) built a wall round the town of Shāburān. The *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, compiled in 372/982 in Northern Afghanistan, calls Shāv.rān "*qaṣaba* of Shīrvān (*sic*)", which I translated as "the capital of Sh.". It might have been less pretentious to translate *qaṣaba* as a "centre", but actually

<sup>1</sup> See also Mas'ūdī, II, 74. See below p. 100.

Shāvurān may have been the provincial capital of *Khursān*, one of the three territories of Sharvān (*Hudūd*, §36, 36). The fact that Yazīd b. Ahmad (§14) and his daughter Shamkūya were buried in Shāburān is significant in connection with the sudden appearance of Iranian names among his descendants. Quite likely this innovation is due to the marriage of Yazīd with a princess of some ancient local dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

A village of Sa'dūn is mentioned in §19 as a point reached by the ruler of Arrān in the course of his invasion of Sharvān. The poets Khāqānī, ed. Tehran, 405, and Falakī, ed. Hadi Hasan, II, 42, refer in the same breath to Gardamān and Sa'dūn (Sa'dān) praising some improvements in irrigation introduced by the sharvanshahs in both these places. It is likely, however, that the poets have in view only two parallel, but disconnected, ventures and that Sa'dūn should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Shābarān.<sup>2</sup>

Further north up to the Samur lay the district *Masqaṭ*. This Arabic name is nothing but a popular etymology (*Masqaṭ* "the place where something has fallen or occurred"), for the original name of the district was \**Maskūt* or *Mashkut*, from the Massagetai<sup>3</sup> who were settled here.

Already Marquart, 'Kultur . . . Analekten', *Ungar. Jahrb.*, April 1929, IX/1, p. 78, saw the correspondence of *Maskūt*/*M.sq.t*/*Muškūr*. The second *ū* of the local *Muškūr* has preserved the *u* of *Maskūt*; the first *ū* of *Muškūr* being probably a proleptic assimilation to the stressed *ū*

<sup>1</sup> In his *Āthār al-bilād*, 403, Z. Qazwīnī (end of thirteenth century) locates at Shābar(ān) the well (*jubb*) in which Bijan was imprisoned by Afrāsiyāb and adds that the enormous block Rustam removed from its mouth was also shown on the spot. These literary reminiscences of the *Shāh-nāma* cannot be very ancient. As Bijan was imprisoned in Tūrān, they may have arisen at the time of "Turanian" (Qipchaq, Mongol) inroads into Transcaucasia through Darband, cf. I. Athīr, XII, 264 (sub 619/1222).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Khanykov in *Mélanges asiatiques*, III/2, 129: "Sa'dūn maintenant Siadan, bourg du district de Qubbeh, non loin des ruines de Chabran". See also *Ukazī kubinskikh khanov*, Tbilisi, 1937, index, p. 98: Sadan, Sayadan (Sayyādān?) in the *maḥall* of Barmakī (later *Divichī*). A village called Sayad exists near the estuary of the Belbele. The improvements in irrigation recorded by the poets may have been the early harbingers of the present-day Samur-Divichī canal.

<sup>3</sup> See Pliny, *n.h.*, II, 12: "Item patria Albania, item patria Massagetai, item patria Caspiae, item patria Lepont" (i.e., Lupenii, Lipink', see *Hudūd*, 454). All these places refer to the same corner of eastern Transcaucasia. One can remember here that, according to Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI, 22, 12, the Alans were the ancient Massagets ("Halanos . . . veteres Massagetas"); therefore the old settlers in *Masqaṭ* may have been Alans. The river flowing south of Darband is called *Rūbās*, which in Osset would mean "a fox" (cf. the name of the more southerly Samūr "a marten").



which follows it. Finally the striking passage of *t(t')* to *r* is explained by the rhotacism of the Iranian dialects of the Caspian region. This rhotacism appears in the Armenian words borrowed from Persian (through the medium of the neighbouring dialects). Cf. F. E. Korsch, 'Traces of dialectal rhotacism in Middle Persian' in *Vost. Drevnosti*, II/3, 11-21, Moscow 1903. It also appears in the poems of Shaykh Šafi of Ardabil (thirteenth century) who spells *dil-ar* (for *dil-at* "thy heart") and in the present-day speech of the Iranian Tats of Eastern Transcaucasia. See V. F. Miller, *Tatskiye etyudī*, 1907, § 39. Also in Kurdish: *zārū* "a child"; in the *Masālik al-abšār*, the tribe of *Zarzāriya* "children of gold", now *Zarzā*.

According to the Armenian historian Faustus of Byzantium, III, ch. 6-7, in the fourth century A.D. Sanesan, with the title of "king of the Massagets (*Mazk'ut'*)", founded here a kingdom with the help of an army consisting of Huns and Daghestanian tribes. Sanesan belonged to the same Arshakid line as the king of Armenia whom he attacked. Masqaṭ must have had a mixed population. Marwān b. Muhammad settled the Khazars converted to Islam in "the Lakz country between the Samūr and Shābarān", i.e. in Masqaṭ, see Balādhurī, 208. About A.D. 1067 near Shābarān the Turks looted "the Muslims and the allies (*mu'āhidīn*)", which latter term must refer to Christians.<sup>1</sup> At present the district (comprised between the rivers Yalama and Belbela) is called Mushkūr.

The important "estate" of Mihyāriya, transformed by Farīburz (§24) into a fortified town, which belonged to Masqaṭ, must have lain close to the Samūr (see events of 457/1065).

To sum up, both Shābarān and Masqaṭ correspond respectively to the southern and northern parts of the district Quba,<sup>2</sup> which in the eighteenth century became the home of a local dynasty whose influence was felt not only in Daghestan but even on the south coast of the Caspian and in Ardabil.

Less definite is the position of the district *Bayn-al-nahrāyn* "between the two rivers" (see under 456/1064), which is paired off with Masqaṭ (§40). One would be tempted to locate it between the important rivers Samūr and Rūbās (this latter flowing between the Samūr and Darband).

<sup>1</sup> Muqaddasi, 376: "Shābarān, without a citadel (*qal'a*); Christians prevail in it; situated on the frontier".

<sup>2</sup> See Minorsky, *Ḳubba* in *E.I.* The *Armenian Geography*, see *Ḥudūd*, 401, mentions the long wall called Abzut-Kavat, *north* of which live the Mask'ut'an (see above p. 78) in the Vardanian plain. This wall, built apparently by Kāvāt, father of Anūshirvān, may have some connection with the name of Quba (\*Qubādh). Cf. also Mas'ūdī, II, 74 (below p. 164). The *Quwā* mentioned in a letter of the sharvanshah Farīburz (*J. As.*, 1949, pp. 118, 139) also seems to refer to the same place.

However, a *Bayn-al-nahrayn* is attested in the Samūr basin,<sup>1</sup> within the Lakz territory. It may have been a territory contested by its neighbours. See below under *Lakz*.

THE LAKZ. To the west of Masqaṭ, on the upper course of the Samūr, lay the highlands of the tribes called Lakz.<sup>2</sup> This territory stretched along the whole northern side of Sharvān from which it was separated by the south-eastern branch of the Caucasus. This explains its importance for Sharvān as a buffer protecting it from northern invaders. Mas'ūdī II, 5, says: "the kingdom of Lakz is the bulwark (*mu'awwal*) of the kingdom of Sharvān". In any case, this dependent nation held only a part of its original possessions (see below), and finally under 468/1075 we hear of the occupation "of the eastern and western parts of the Lakz territory" by the sharvanshah Farīburz. In the time of Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār (see *Jour. As.*, 1949), the Lakz were friendly to the point that the sharvanshah used them as intermediaries for the conversion of the Ghumīq to Islam.

In the Lakz region we find mentioned (§40, under 456/1064) a place called كرك *K.r.k* (with final *-k*). It can be identified with Kurak, situated on the southern tributary of the Qāsum-kand river which flows between the Rūbās and the Samūr. This Kurak must be strictly distinguished from كرج *K.r.j* (read: كرخ *\*Karakh*) which lay north of al-Bāb (see below p. 95).

In this connection we have to settle the problem of two other difficult names. Under 342/943 our source (§35) speaks of a Lakzian king who for a short time was proclaimed in al-Bāb. The first part of his name is badly mutilated: *Q.sh.rsh.m* (?) Aḥmad b. Munabbih. I think that this title is derived from Khashram al-Sulamī whom Marwān b. Muḥammad appointed to be the ruler of the Lakz, see Balādhuri, 209. Our Aḥmad b. Munabbih must have been one of his descendants. The Arabic plural, *khashārima*, was used for the family of another Khashram, *ibid.*, 380. And finally Yāqūt in his important article on al-Bāb (I,

<sup>1</sup> The term *Bayn al-nahrayn* occurs in the fragment of the *Akhtī-nāma* (?) quoted by Khanikov, *Jour. As.*, July 1862, 84-5. The place, mentioned twice in conjunction with the villages on the Samūr is located "beneath Mt. Shāh-Alborz", and said to comprise the village of Ūsūgh (to the east of Akhtī). The river of Ūsūgh flows at the western foot of Mt. Shah-dagh (height 13,791 feet) and joins the Samūr from the south. In the passage quoted below, p. 100, n. 2, Yāqūt lets a *Majma' al-bahrayn* follow on *Lakz*. Is it not a mistake for our *Bayn al-nahrayn*?

<sup>2</sup> The name consists of *lak/lag* ("a man", in local languages) plus the Iranian suffix of origin *-z*. In Russian (with metathesis!) *Lezg-in* was used somewhat indiscriminately for all the inhabitants of Daghestan, but in local use and in the Arab geographers the term applies *only* to the tribes of southern Daghestan (in 1926 there were 134,536 speakers of Lezgi dialects).

438) speaks of the social classes of the Lakz: "they have freemen (*ahrār*) who are called *khamāshira*: above them are the maliks and below them the officers (مشاق)<sup>1</sup> and then the ploughmen (*akara*) and the servants or craftsmen (*muhhān*)". I am convinced that الخماشيرة *khamāshira* is only a popular metathesis for الخشارمة *khashārīma*.<sup>2</sup>

Among the dependencies of Masqaṭ was the estate of Sāmsūya (§40). Its name has not survived. From the local *Chronicle of Akhtī*, the author of the *Gulistān-i Iram*, p. 48, reports that the Khazars, during their domination in Sharvān, installed one of their chiefs, Samsam,<sup>3</sup> in the village of Mukrak (Mikrākh) on the Samūr. Could *Sāmsūya* reflect the name of this person? Mikrākh lies within the Lakz area on the left bank of the Usugh-chay (see above p. 80, note 1).

KHURSĀN and VARDĀN. At the time of our chrōnicle these names, practically corresponding to Shābarān and Masqaṭ were no longer used, but they are important for the understanding of our previous explanations.

We have seen that the Lakz territory was shrinking before it was absorbed in Sharvān, under Farīburz. Even at an earlier date Mas'udi, *Murūj* (Paris, II, 6; Bulaq, p. 86), says that Muhammad b. Yazīd (our §10) annexed two ancient principalities which he calls "Khorāsān-shāh (خراسانشاه)" and "Zādān-shāh (زادانشاه)". These names should be restored as \*Khursān (خرسان) and \*Vardān (وردان), as found in the *Armenian Geography*, p. 26: *Khors-vēm* "the rock of Khors".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation of this term baffled even de Goeje, *BGA*, IV, 355, who translated *ad sensum*: "merchants and well-off citizens", which is a mere guess. *Mashshāq* might be construed as "an officer, instructor", but we want here a plural. *Mushshāq* would be a plural, but it does not give a suitable meaning. Very curious is the local use of the term مشاق in Aq-sarā'i's *Musāmamat al-akhbār* (723/1323), ed. O. Turan, Ankara, 1944, p. 275: when Öljeitü was building a town in Arrān (on the Kur) he employed 1,000 مشاق daily. (In fact, among the foundations of Öljeitü, the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 596, mentions Oljāytü-Sultānābād in Mughān, on the Caspian coast). The text suggests "craftsmen or workmen". One might even suppose that we have to do with a purely local, non-Arabic term, cf. Armenian *mshak* "agricultural worker", which in Georgian and other Caucasian languages becomes *musha* "rough-labourer" in general. But even this meaning is embarrassing, because Yāqūt's text suggests a middle position between the noblemen and the *akara* and \**muhhān*.

<sup>2</sup> The solution of this double snag occurred to me in my sleep (12.1.1951).

<sup>3</sup> In the Arabic fragment quoted by Khanīkov, *Jour. As.*, 1862, XX, 81-90, al-Simsām appears as a heathen adversary of "Abū-Muslim" who built a mosque in Mikrākh.

<sup>4</sup> Elisha, ch. IV (transl. by Shanshiev, Tiflis 1853, p. 157; Langlois, 214) indicates the reading *Khersan* but the *Armenian Geography* suggests \**Khorsan*.

Balādhuri does not mention Vardān-shāh but in the report on Anūshirvān's appointments, p. 196, he refers to the king of the Lakz surnamed Jurshān (read: \**Khursān*)-shāh and to the king of Masqaṭ whose kingdom had been abolished. In the account of the period of Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, p. 207, he says that the shah of \**Khursān* and the lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Masqaṭ appeared before him. He further, p. 209, states that, having appointed Khashram al-Sulamī to rule over the Lakz, Marwān came to the castle of the lord of Sharvān,<sup>1</sup> called Kh.rsh (\**Khurs*) and situated on the sea-shore, after which this prince submitted and came down to the lowlands (*ilā al-sahl*). See also Ya'qūbī, II, 447.

From these indications we can gather that the *Khursān*-shāh was the ruler of the Lakz, that his fief extended down to the sea, that later the governorship of the Lakz was given to the Arab Khashram (see above p. 80) and, perhaps, that the castle of *Khurs* came to be considered as a part of Sharvān. The late A. N. Genko (*Trudi*, 1937, p. 87) located *Khursān* in the coastal region near Khiḍr-Zinda<sup>2</sup> and Mt. Besh-Barmaq, i.e. circa 90 kms. north-west of Baku. Personally I am inclined to extend *Khursān* over the whole southern part of the district of Quba, comprising the castle of Shābarān which played an important rôle in the history of Sharvān.

That Vardān bordered on *Khursān* is clear from Mas'ūdī II, 6, who mentions the two names together. The text of the Armenian geography, ed. Soukry, 25-7, at this place is not entirely in order (cf. *Hudūd*, p. 401), but in the History of Faustus, III, ch. 6, the *plain of Vatna*<sup>3</sup> is clearly associated with the dominion of the king of the Mazk'ut' which, as we have seen, corresponds to the Masqaṭ of the Arabs (now Mushkūr, south of the Samūr). Therefore, the long-forgotten Vardān should be identified with the northern part of the Quba district where the fertile coastal plain suddenly broadens out and is watered by innumerable streams flowing from the hills. When Balādhurī, 196, says that the kingship of Masqaṭ had been abolished, he most probably refers to the Vardān-shāh whose title he omits to mention in his text.

In conclusion, I wish to take this occasion to correct a mistake in the list of Anūshirvān's appointments. According to Balādhurī, 197: *وَمَلَكَ صَاحِبَ بَيْخِ عَلَى بَيْخِ* "and he made the lord of *B.kkkh* its king".

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps "a lord in Sharvān", or the lord of \**Shābarān* (for *Sharvān*).

<sup>2</sup> *Khiḍr* (read: *Khizr*) may reflect the ancient *Khurs*, but *Khurs* seems to have no connection with the Scythian name for Persians, \**Khursari*, see Pliny, *n.h.*, 6, 50 (in Latin transcription: Chorsari).

<sup>3</sup> Marquart in his translation of, and notes on Hippolytus, 1923, II, 55, saw that *Vatni* (*Vatnean*) corresponded to *Vardan*. See also Elīshe, ch. IV: Gluar-Khersan and the history of Moses Kaḷankatvatsi II, ch. X, in which "Mt. Varde-Gruak" ("the pass of Varde") is mentioned before the ancient residence (of the Mazk'ut'?) where St. Grigoris was martyred.

This name should be restored as \*بلخ Balkh. Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār in his list of homonymous place-names (Paris MS. f.139) says "and what a difference . . . between Balkh—'the cupola of Islam', and the Balkh of the Lakz lying in a jungle". The exact location of this Balkh is unknown, but the spelling settles the problem which baffled Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 508.

WESTERN NEIGHBOURS. In the west, Sharvān proper ended in the basin of the Gök-chay (only some 85 kms. to the west of the capital), but we witness the strenuous endeavours of the sharvanshahs to push the frontier back into the territory of their neighbours. The nearest principality in that direction was QABALA,<sup>1</sup> an ancient Albanian town (Pliny, *n.h.*, VI, 10: Cabalaca), which for a century before the Arab invasion had apparently become the main local centre of Khazar occupation (see above p. 17). In Mas'ūdī's time (*Murūj*, II, 68), the townsmen were Muslims, whereas the countryside was occupied by Christians. The ruler's name was 'Anbasa al-A'war "The one-eyed Lion (Leo, Levon?)". This Arabic form is certainly no argument for his Arab nationality, for most of the Christian notables at that period had adopted purely fictitious Arabic names and patronymics which hardly had any relation to their real names. Thus 'Anbasa may have been the offspring of some Albano-Armenian family. Our source carries the pedigree one stage further on when it informs us that in 371/981 the sharvanshah Muhammad b. Ahmad wrested Qabala from 'Abd al-Barr, son of 'Anbasa-the-One-eyed.<sup>2</sup> Under 389/999 (§14) the same 'Abd al-Barr is referred to (only) as the lord of the castle of Gurzūl,<sup>3</sup> which he lost at that date to Yazīd b. Ahmad Qūnī, which apparently consisted of several villages (§22), should also be looked for near Qabala. [In Arabic *qūnī* "canals"].

To the west of Qabala lay the more important principality of SHAKKĪ (in Armenian Shak'ē), also a part of the ancient Albania, which lay to the east of Kakhetia, chiefly along the eastern tributary of the Alazan. In my 'Caucasica (IV)', *BSOAS* XVI/3, 504-14, I have collected the

<sup>1</sup> On which see a detailed article by my teacher A. E. Krimsky (1871-1941) in the volume dedicated to S. F. Oldenburg, Moscow 1934, 289-305. Cf. Minorsky in *BSOAS*, 1953, XV/3, p. 506.

<sup>2</sup> Among his authorities on Armenia, Balādhuri, 193, quotes a Muhammad b. Ismā'īl of Bardha'a whose informant was Abū-Barā' (*sic*) Anbasa b. Baḥr *al-Armanī*. There is a strange likeness between the names and patronymics of 'Abd al-Barr and Abū-Barā.

<sup>3</sup> The ruins of Chukhur-Qabala (between the rivers Qochalan-chay and Qarachay) have been described by D. Sharifov in *Izv. obshchestva obsledovaniya Azerbayjana*, No. 4, 1927. As Qabala lay in the fork of the two head-waters of the Turiyan, the identification of Gurzul (?) with Girdadul (on the western bank of the Gök-chay), as suggested by A. Z. Validi, *l.c.*, 131, is likely. Above Girdadul, the western headwater of the Gök-chay (on which stands Kutkashen) is called Gruduz, which may also reflect the same name.

scanty information on the former rulers of Shakkī, who are said to have come from Armenia and whose domination covered also Heret'i (on the lower Alazan) and apparently some districts on the southern bank of the Kur. When, however, we reach the period described in our source, we find that the situation had altered, for, instead of Shakkī proper expanding into Kakhetia, we see that in all the chapters of *T.-B.* the term "king of Shakkī" consistently refers to the rulers of Kakhetia, who between (roughly) 950 and 1050 must have absorbed Shakkī.

There is no doubt about the identity of \*Akhsartān II (1058-84) who is referred to in §§21 and 26 (cf. the chapter on Arrān §14).<sup>1</sup> Under 445/1053 we hear that the sharvanshah Sallār captured and fortified the castle (*qaṣr*) of Mālūgh (or Bālūgh),<sup>2</sup> but in 464/1072 a lieutenant of Akhsartān of Kakhetia occupied it. Together with the lord of Arrān, Fariburz b. Sallār re-captured the place and destroyed it.

GEORGIA. Apart from the Kuirikan dynasty of Kakhetia, there existed the main Bagratid dynasty in the central and southern parts of Georgia and the so-called Abkhazian dynasty of Western Georgia.<sup>3</sup> King Bagrat III (975-1014) succeeded in 978 to the throne of the "Abkhazian" kingdom and thus a movement began for the unification of all the Georgian lands. King Bagrat IV (1027-72), son of Giorgi, was a man of great energy and, though Tiflis, ruled by Muslim amirs, still formed an enclave within his possessions, his influence on the eastern frontier was certainly felt. In this light we should consider the astonishing report that, in order to punish the unruly inhabitants of his capital, the sharvanshah Fariburz allowed the infidel \*Jurziya (Georgians?) to attack them. Two years later (459/1067) "X., son of K.rki showed signs of revolt and captured Daskarat al-Ḥusayn".<sup>4</sup> The reference is

<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, no parallel could be found to king Ādhar-Narsa b. Humam mentioned by Mas'ūdī, II, 68.

<sup>2</sup> A. Z. Validi, *l.c.*, 146, identifies this place with Balikh in the same region as Girdadul, though the circumstances of the operations (§26) would be in favour of its more westerly location. In fact, a Malukh is mentioned among the villages of the former khanate of Shakkī, see Petrushevsky, *Ocherki po istorii feodalnikh otnosheniy v Azerbayjane*, 1949, p. 289, though I cannot ascertain how far east the khanate extended in the eighteenth-nineteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> The real Abkhaz are a small nation living on the east coast of the Black sea (near Sukhumi), but the Abkhazian kingdom, founded by Leon II towards A.D. 800, comprised a large territory covering western Georgian lands in the Rion basin. Leon's successors expanded even into K'art'lia (eastern Georgia, west of Kakhetia).

<sup>4</sup> The second part of the name is doubtful and the term *daskara*, an old Iranian designation for an "estate" (in Arabic *ḍay'a*), is unexpected, unless the author uses it in the general sense of "level ground" (*arḍ mustawiya*), cf. Yāqut, II, 575. As this place had been seized by the king of Georgia and ceded by him to the ruler of Kakhetia ("Shakkī") it must have lain considerably west of Qabala. (Moses Kalan., Russ. transl., 271, mentions a Dastakert near Mets-Irank' in Arrān).

surely to the son of Giorgi, i.e. to Bagrat IV. This king ceded the Daskara to Akhsartān of Shakki (i.e. Kakhetia) and the sharvanshah did not succeed in liberating it.

In the twelfth-thirteenth century Giorgi III (1156-84) established marriage links with Sharvān and during his reign and that of his brilliant daughter Tamar (1184-1213) the Georgians exercised a definite protectorate over Sharvān. Cf. also Annex V.

THE SURROUNDINGS OF SHARVĀN. Most of the territory of Sharvān consisted of plains and lowlands and was open to invasions from many sides. In the north-east the struggle with al-Bāb went on without interruption. Even despite the existence of the Lakz buffer territory in the north, raiding parties of Alāns and Sarīrians broke in from the northern Caucasus and caused much damage to Sharvān (for example in 423/1032). From the sea it experienced several attacks by Russian pirates (see below: Rūs). From the south the Daylamite Musāfirids expanded, for some time, to the north of the Araxes. Under 344/955 Sharvān is mentioned as a tributary of Marzubān b. Muhammad.<sup>1</sup> In 357/968 Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān penetrated as far as Masqaṭ. After 458/1066 a number of formidable Turkish (*Ghuz*) raids came from the same direction. In the south-west the Shaddādids of Arrān were often hostile to Sharvān (see above) and only in the west did the sharvanshahs score some successes in the struggle with their Christian neighbours.

On the whole, it can be said that the policy of Sharvān was directed towards the north-east. The sharvanshahs strove to round off their territory by incorporating the coastal belt of fertile lands, and by eliminating the rival and hostile influences at Darband. The sea too may have had some attraction for the sharvanshahs. This became particularly clear in later days when, under the pressure of the Eldiguzid (Ildegizid) Qizil-Arslan (582-7/1186-91), who occupied Shamākhi, the sharvanshah Akhsartān (Akhsartan) b. Minūchihr transferred his residence to Baku. See Barthold, "The place of the Caspian provinces in the history of Islam" (in Russian), Baku 1925, pp. 46-7.

## B. DARBAND (*AL-BĀB*)

In the East the main Caucasian range splits roughly into two branches: the south-eastern spur, which runs in the direction of Baku, and the double north-eastern, which follows the course of the Qoy-su ("the Sheep river").<sup>2</sup> An important additional feature is that the highly mountainous

<sup>1</sup> See I. Hāuqal, p. 254, whose very important passage I tried to explain in *BSOAS*, 1952, XIV/2, 514-29.

<sup>2</sup> Abul-Fidā, *Geography*, p. 204: *Nahr al-aghnam*.

country (Daghestan "Highlands"), which lies between the aforesaid branches, is divided by a watershed which ends at the point where Darband stands on the Caspian coast. This wall separates the basins of the southern rivers: the Samūr, the Qāsum-kand and the Rūbās, from the northern rivers, of which the principal is the Qoy-su.<sup>1</sup> The population of the southern and northern basins is very different and thus Darband faced two distinct worlds. In the south, it shared the political climate of Muslim Sharvān and its affiliated Lakz; in the north it was meant to contain an entirely different set of Christian and heathen tribes.

Such valuable descriptions of Daghestan as are found in Ibn-Rusta, 147-8, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 39-78,<sup>2</sup> Iṣṭakhri, 184, 220-7, Ibn-Ḥauqal, 242, and Yāqūt, I, 437-42, have more or less a static character, whereas our *Ta'rikh al-Bāb* shows the "mountain of languages" fully agog and astir with mutual attacks, alliances, ruptures and family ties.

DARBAND.<sup>3</sup> The territory of the city-state of al-Bāb extended only for a very short distance outside the town walls. On the basis of the recent archaeological exploration,<sup>4</sup> we shall give a short description of this unique site. Level ground is found here only on the narrow ribbon of the beach. Immediately to the West the ground rises, first slowly, then rapidly towards Mt. Jalghan (Yaqut: *Dhīb* "the wolf," but Qazwīnī, II, 340: *Dhanb* "the tail"), under which stands the citadel. The latter crowns a hill which looks like a peninsula linked with Jalghan by a narrow isthmus. The strongly built citadel towers over the town, and on its northern side it is naturally protected by a deep ravine descending from Jalghan. The town lies between two strong walls which used to protrude into the sea and form a safe harbour for ships.

The southern wall (now destroyed in many places) runs up to the citadel in a straight line and in an E.-to-W. direction. The northern wall built to ward off the main attacks<sup>5</sup> is roughly parallel with the southern but

<sup>1</sup> It flows N.E. and drains the central part of Daghestan. A number of shorter rivers to the east of the Qoy-su basin have independent outlets into the Caspian (north of Darband).

<sup>2</sup> See Annexes III and IV.

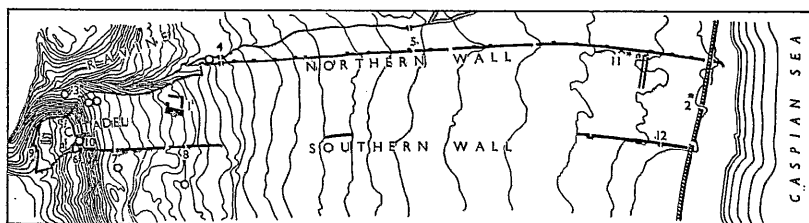
<sup>3</sup> Arab. *al-Bāb*, Persian *Darband*, Turkish *Demir-qapı*, Mongol. *Qahulgha*, Armenian *Ch'or* etc. Our author sometimes uses the hendiadys: al-Bāb and Darband, or al-Bāb and Şul (\*Chūr), cf. §14. [The old Russian name of the Caspian sea Хопужское море, found in some north-Russian documents, is derived from the older Turkish *qapugh* "a gate", i.e. Darband, see M. Vasmer, 'Ein Name des Kaspischen Meeres', *Zeitschr. f. Slavische Philologie*, 1956, No. XXIV, p 28.]

<sup>4</sup> See E. A. Pakhomov, "The Pahlavi inscriptions of Derbend" (in Russian), Baku 1929, and M. I. Artamonov, 'The ancient Derbend' (in Russian) in *Soviet arkhologia.*, 1946, VIII, 121-44.

<sup>5</sup> Though in the south too the amirs of al-Bāb had to defend themselves against the perpetual attacks of Sharvān, and even of the rebels from among the aristocracy of al-Bāb (see under the year 456).



there is more distance between them near the sea, whereas higher up near the citadel, the northern wall recedes to follow the brink of the above-mentioned ravine.<sup>1</sup> The walls, built of large blocks of stone are up to four metres broad, and in height reach 18–20 metres. They are strengthened by a chain of forts, towers and fortified gates. Along the northern wall, Pakhomov has counted forty-five towers. In the lower part of the town traces of a more ancient sun-baked brick wall are still to be seen inside the stone wall, which explains the name of the adjacent ward *Du-bāra* ("the double-wall").



## LEGEND

- |                             |                    |                                 |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Jurfā mosque             | 5. Shūra-qapı gate | 9. Western gate of the citadel  |
| 2. House of Peter the Great | 6. Qala-qapı gate  | 10. Eastern gate of the citadel |
| 3. Jarchi-qapı gate         | 7. Bayat-qapı gate | 11. Remains of the ancient wall |
| 4. Qırkklar-qapı gate       | 8. Orta-qapı gate  | 12. Du-bāra wall                |

○ = Springs

The stone walls are attributed to Khusrau Anūshirvān (531–78),<sup>2</sup> the brick walls belong possibly to his father Qubād b. Fīrūz (488–531).

<sup>1</sup> The local expert P. I. Spassky (in his article 'The fortifications of Derbent', Baku 1929) gives the following measurements: southern wall—from the sea up to the citadel—3,500 metres; northern wall—3,675 m.; distance between the walls—450 m. (near the citadel—350 m.). Thus the area of the town is about 1.5 square km. The citadel stands 340 m. over the sea level, has an irregular quadrilateral shape and occupies an area of 2 hectares.

<sup>2</sup> Pakhomov, *l.c.*, suggests that the walls were built in the thirty-seventh year of Anushirvan, *i.e.*, A.D. 567. At this place the question is only of the events within the memory of the eastern peoples. On the earlier events in the region of the two principal passes: Darband (in Arm. *Ch'or*, in early Arabic *Ṣāl*) and Darial (in Latin *portae Caspiae*, Plin., *n.h.*, 6, 11, §30) see Marquart, *Erānsahr*, 95–107. Negotiations between the Romans and the Persians about the fortifying of the passes, for which purpose the former were ready to pay subventions to the latter, are known already under Theodosius I (379–95). There exist some indications that the first wall was built under Yazdegird II (438–51). According to the Armenian historian Levond (end of the eighth century A.D.) Maslama found in Darband a stone with an inscription saying that emperor Marcianus (450–7) "built this town and stronghold and spent (on them) many talents from his treasury" (Russian translation by K. Patkanian, p. 28).

The Pahlavi inscriptions on the blocks bear witness to their antiquity,<sup>1</sup> but in many places the walls have been repaired in Muslim times.

The three gates which have survived in the northern wall are now called Jarchi-qapī (N.E. of the citadel), Qırkhlar-qapī (more to the east, with an ancient cemetery in front of it) and Shūrā-qapī (near the middle part of the wall). The southern wall seems to have possessed more gates: Qala-qapī (near the citadel), Bayat-qapī, Orta-qapī, Du-bāra-qapī (near the sea), etc.

Of the toponymy of al-Bāb we find mentioned in our sources: the citadel (*qal'a*); the castle of Abul-'Abbās (§41); the tower of the Vault (*burj al-Tāq*) apparently belonging to the citadel (year 379/989); the "government building" (*dār al-imāra*) standing in the town (§36); a suburb (*rabaḍ*), see year 456/1064; the hill *Tell al-Fursān*, and several gates (those of the Citadel, of Jihād, of Damascus and of Palestine).<sup>2</sup>

The *T.-B.* many times refers to a "middle" wall which the amirs tried to erect and which the townsmen, at the instigation of their leaders, pulled down each time after a short while. This must have been a transverse wall connecting the two city walls. Its destination was to cut off the upper part of the town so as to annex it to the citadel. In this way the amirs could concentrate within it their sympathisers and isolate themselves from their unruly subjects.<sup>3</sup>

In the tenth-eleventh century the time of great Muslim conquests and Islamic expeditions had gone by. Darband could expand only to the south of its walls, along the Caspian coast, but this fertile strip of territory irresistibly attracted the lords of Sharvan as well, and the struggle for this "living space" led to innumerable clashes between the Muslim neighbours.

*Dagh-bāra* ("Mountain wall"). The walls of the town and the citadel were linked up with a system of fortifications extending considerably to the west in order to prevent the outflanking of al-Bāb, though on

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Faḳīh, 291, gives a curious description of statues and images on the walls of al-Bāb (two lions, lionesses, a man with a fox holding grapes in its mouth); also of an underground water-tank and lions on both sides of the steps leading thereto and considered as talismans, cf. Ibn Ḥauqal, 242, and Yāqūt.

<sup>2</sup> The two last gates must correspond to the wards occupied by the warriors brought from Syria, see below p. 90, n. 2. Under the years 456/1064 and 457/1065 one finds mentioned a place called *D.hnū* or *D.hn.q* (perhaps \**Dimashq*?). In the *Derbend-nāmeḥ*, p. 90, the six gates built by Maslama are enumerated together with their present names which we quote in brackets: Muhājir (Jarchi), Jihād (Qırkhlar), Hims (Yengi), Saqir, or Qaysar? (Türkman), Maktüb, or Maktüm (Bayat), 'Alqama (Narin-qal'a).

<sup>3</sup> It is a matter of some importance that two springs of fresh water come out inside the citadel and six others are situated immediately under the walls but outside the town, see Artamonov, *l.c.*

many occasions Darband was actually by-passed. To the west of Mt. Jalghan a real wall (*Dagh-bāra*) runs on for some 15 km., but for another 25 km. the mountains are studded with towers and block-houses which control the mountain paths. In any case, Mas'ūdī's indication (*Murūj*, II, 2) that the walls built by Anūshirvān extended for a distance of 40 farsakhs (over 200 km.) is a great exaggeration.<sup>1</sup>

[A good description of the "Mountain wall" is given by the former Russian general R. von Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, Leipzig 1888, pp. 216-24.

In the neighbourhood of the sea the width of the town is about 500 paces but near the castle Narin-qal'a it tapers to 140 paces.<sup>2</sup> Beyond the castle the rocks rise so abruptly that the wall is non-existent up to the castle of Pramashki situated at 2 km. west of the Narin-qal'a. South of Pramashki lies Kōroghlī; both stand on the high peaks of two parallel chains, whereas the wall bars the deep gorge separating them. Thence the wall runs due west and is studded with crenellated square towers (40-80 paces long) with chambers for provisions and stairs leading up to observation points. By the wall one sees traces of wells and cemeteries with stones inscribed in Arabic. The walls are built of slabs of rock and mortar and are panelled with large blocks of hewn stones fixed with great skill. The wall follows the ridges down to the villages of Kechili and Kamākh, of which the latter lies on a steep slope whence a vast view opens towards the north-east. The following villages are Zadiyān and Bilgadi. Thence crossing a short river—on which further downstream one can distinguish the traces of the camp where Nadir's army was destroyed by the mountaineers (in 1743)—the wall runs to the Shilkan castle and then west to Seshur-qal'a and to Darvāgh, where the wall becomes double. Following the river the wall passes by Zil, Ersi, Dūbek and Apil down to Chuhun (Juhūd?) -qal'a which bars the approaches to the Rūbās flowing in the south. This strong castle (80 × 40 paces with walls 2 metres thick and 14 m. high) stands on an elevation, whence the view extends back as far as Pramashki. This is the end of the wall because farther NW and SE the rocks are inaccessible and towards SW are of very difficult approach. Erckert adds that the sight of the wall stretching over wooded slopes provokes "admiration and astonishment", especially in its western part from Ersi on.]

THE "CENTRES." Our source does not throw much light on the meaning of the term *marākiz* "the Centres". In §32 it is used separately from *thughūr* "the Marches" but possibly the two terms were used as juxtaposed equivalents. Yāqūt, I, 438, states that in the defensive system of al-Bāb special "centres" were assigned for protection (*markaz yahfuzuhu*) to each of the local nations (Ṭabarsarān, Filān (?), al-Lakz, al-Layzān, Sharvān). In this interpretation *markaz* would have the

<sup>1</sup> Unless he includes in his estimate such local fortifications as a 50 km. long wall recently explored (1950) by Pakhomov and Aliasker-zadeh between the gorges of Kakh and Zakatali (between Shakki and Kakhelia).

<sup>2</sup> But see above Spassky.

meaning of "an assigned zone, a part of the common front". This explanation suits perhaps the Sasanian times, but it does not fit into the picture presented in the *T.-B.*, for the amirs of al-Bāb had little authority over the neighbouring tribes.

One might perhaps assume that the term *al-marākiz al-islāmiya* (see events in al-Bāb in A.H. 423) refers to the places where Arabs were originally settled with the task of acting as forward posts for the protection of Darband.

The reference to perhaps the oldest Arab settlements near Darband is found at an unexpected place, namely, in the *History of Mayyāfāriqīn* (Br. Mus., Or. 5803) by Ibn al-Azraq, who in 548/1153 entered the employ of King Dimitri of Georgia (A.D. 1125-56). On f.161b he describes how he accompanied the king on his tour to the "Alāns, the Darband 'side' and the country of Abkāz (perhaps \*al-Layzān)". On f.176b he says that the news of the death of the Artuqid Ḥisām al-dīn Timur-tāsh reached him on the fourth of Muharram 549/21 March 1154, when, in King Dimitri's suite, he was in the neighbourhood of Darband. In more detail he speaks of the same visit on ff.64a-b (under the year 549) where he records his meeting with some Arabs who were settled there and came to greet Dimitri. They wore Arab attire and addressed Ibn al-Azraq in Arabic. A mixed lot of Arabs belonging to the Umayyad, Kinda and other tribes had two boroughs within ten farsakhs from Darband, half-way up a mountain (*'alā wasaṭ jabalīn*), and one of the villages was on the top of the mountain. According to the Arabs their territory was five farsakhs across. One of the Arabs said that their ancestors had settled near Darband more or less 500 years before, but was not very clear on the circumstances of their expatriation. This prompted the historian of Mayyāfāriqīn to suggest that their ancestors must have been responsible for the murder of Ḥusayn, son of the fourth caliph, 'Alī, and that they had been expelled during the great Shī'a revolt led by Mukhtār b. Abū-'Ubayd.<sup>1</sup> Though the acceptance of this suggestion by the Darband Arabs may have been only a token of respect for their learned interlocutor, five centuries before take us back approximately to the period of Mukhtār's revolt.

In the reign of Hishām (105-25/724-43), Maslama is said to have established in Darband 24,000 Syrians and assigned stipends to them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Annex V.

<sup>2</sup> See Balādhuri, 207, and Bal'ami's abridgment of Tabari, Lahore 1291/1874, p. 720. According to the *Derbend-nāmeḥ*, 90, 93, in the year 115/733 Maslama divided Darband into seven streets, each with a mosque, and called them after the origin of the settlers established in each of them (Filistīn, Dimishq, Ḥims, Jazā'ir, Mauṣil etc.). Cf. Gharnāṭī, ed. Ferrand, p. 83: 24,000 Arabs from Mauṣil, Damascus, Ḥims, Tadmur, Aleppo and Jazīra.

According to Ya'qūbi, II, 446, when the Khazars forced the Muslim armies to retreat, the caliph Abū-Ja'far (136-58/754-75) liberated 7,000 men detained in prison and sent them to Darband. The workmen who accompanied them built for them three boroughs: Kamākh, Muḥam-madiya and Bāb-Wāq. The first still exists at 20 km. from Darband, the second may correspond to Ḥumaydiya (in Ṭabarsaran, see below), and the third to Darbākh (\*Dar-wāq) on the river of the same name. Mas'ūdī, II, 40-1, apparently has these settlers in mind when he speaks of the Arab colonies established between al-Bāb and \*Khaydāq. The inhabitants of Darbākh still spoke Arabic in the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup>

The extraordinary complexity of historical, ethnical and linguistic problems raised by the "mountain of languages" (*jabal al-alsun*)<sup>2</sup> renders the identification of some names found in Arabic sources very difficult, and each name will require a considerable amount of explanation.

ṬABARSARĀN.<sup>3</sup> The river flowing immediately south of the Darband watershed is the Rūbās and its basin forms the district of Ṭabarsarān<sup>4</sup> occupied mainly by a special race of mountaineers with a considerable admixture of Iranian settlers (the so-called *Tāt*, see *E.I.*). At the time of the Arab conquest there existed a Ṭabarsarān-shāh (Balādhuri, 208) but Ṭabarsarān must have been one of the earliest territories to join the Muslim side, see Genko, *l.c.*, 99. At the time of Mas'ūdī (in 332/943) it was ruled by a nephew (the sister's son) of the amir 'Abd al-Malik of al-Bāb, but Sharvān must have established relations with Ṭabarsarān at an earlier date. Towards 327/939 Haytham b. Muhammad b. Yazīd was ruling in Ṭabarsarān (§35). In 337/948 (another?) Haytham b. Muhammad was appointed to Ṭabarsaran (§10).<sup>5</sup> In 416/1025 Haytham, brother of Yazīd b. Ahmad of Sharvān, died in the "estate of Muhammad" (cf. above: Muḥammadiya) in Ṭabarsarān. In 467/1065 Yazīd's grandson Hurmuz was buried in the estate of Irsi

<sup>1</sup> See the valuable article by the late A. N. Genko (who died in the siege of Leningrad in 1941), 'The Arabic language and the Caucasian studies' (in Russian), *Trudi Inst. Vost.*, 1941, pp. 81-110. The name is often mis-spelt. In the Arabic Ibn A'tham, see A. N. Kurat, *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih dergisi*, 1949, VII/2, 268, and in I. Athīr, V, 45, the river *نهر الراق* (flowing six farsakhs beyond al-Bāb) should read *نهر الراق*. In Gharnatī, ed. Ferrand, p. 83, too *درهه* should be restored as *الدرواق* \*Dar-Vāq.

<sup>2</sup> With some exaggeration Yāqūt (under *al-Bāb*) counts seventy languages in Daghestan.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṭabar-sarān* "the hatchet-headed", apparently an Iranian nickname for the natives: now Tabasarān.

<sup>4</sup> Some villages of Ṭabarsarān lie even to the north of the watershed.

<sup>5</sup> On the confusion in the pedigree see note to §9.

(Ersi) with which he must have been connected through his mother.<sup>1</sup> On the part of al-Bāb, relations with Ṭabarsarān (screened from it by a mountain) seem to have been less happy. In 303/915 Abul-Najm b. Muhammad fought the people of Ṭabarsaran unsuccessfully. The fact that in 380/990 amir Maymūn, on being expelled from al-Bāb, retired to Ṭabarsaran points rather to the isolation of this district from Darband.<sup>2</sup>

Most probably Ṭabarsaran was a region in which possessory rights prevailed over any theoretical rights of sovereignty. The villages of Ṭabarsaran which our text connects with al-Bāb are: Ḥumaydiya, Muḥraqa, \*Tūyaq and Khurmastān. The first is still found in Upper Ṭabarsaran, and the second may correspond to the present-day "Marāgha" in Lower Ṭabarsaran (south of Darband), see Kazem-bek, *o.c.*, pp. 78 and 123, and Dorn, *Caspia*, 105, 278. Tūyaq, which fought on the side of Darband (§23), must be the village called on the Russian map *Düvek* (see Genko, *l.c.*). For Khurmastān we can add that the word *khurmā* (or *qurma*) does not mean here "palm-trees, or dates" for in local use it refers to a species of persimmon, in English "date plum" (*diaspyros lotus*), which in fact grows in Daghestan.<sup>3</sup>

KHAYDĀQ. On the northern slope of the Darband watershed the river nearest to the town is Darbākh (*Dar-vāq*). It is followed by the Boghan (Buam), the Yāngi-chay and the Bashlī-chay (?). On this territory lives the mountaineer race of Qaytāq (Khaydākh),<sup>4</sup> speaking a language of the Dargua family. The latter (now 126,272 speakers) consists of the dialects of Dargua proper, Aqusha, Qaytakh and Kubachi.

The name Khaydāq (Qaytāq) sounds Altaic (Khazar?)<sup>5</sup> but the statement of Evliyā-chelebi (II, 291) that in his time (1647) the Qaytaqs—whom he met between Shakkī and Sharvān—spoke Mongolian is a hoax.<sup>6</sup> The words of their language which he quotes are but a transcript

<sup>1</sup> Ersi still exists in Upper Ṭabarsaran (north of the watershed).

<sup>2</sup> This is not contradicted by the events of 446/1054 when amir Manšūr was helped by the people (volunteers?) of Ṭabarsaran.

<sup>3</sup> A. Shahov, *Za zhar-ptitsey*, 1950, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> Our source leaves no doubt that the spellings like جیدان *Jyḍān* etc., found in many sources (Mas'ūdī etc.) are mere mistakes for \*خیداق *Khaydāq*. This fact was recognised by d'Ohsson in his book, *Les peuples du Caucase*, but obscured by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 20, 492. The area of Khaydākh, or at least the extent and connection of the territories composing it, changed considerably in the course of time, see Barthold, *Daghestān*, in *E.I.*

<sup>5</sup> The name Qay is known among the Altaic peoples, see Minorsky, *Marvazi*, pp. 96-7, but the component Qay-taq ("the counterpart of Qay"?) does not seem to occur elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> I strongly suspect Evliyā-Chelebi of having taken the so-called Moghānlu (of the region near Zakatali) for "Mongols". The Moghānlu are local Azarbayjan Turks (possibly immigrants from Mughān, or Movakan?).

of the Mongolian words which Ḥamdullāh Mustauī quotes in his *Cosmography* (740/1340) and which have no relation to the Qaytaq. See Barthold in *Etnograf. obozreniye*, 1910, vol. 83-4, pp. 1-9; N. Poppe in *Zap. koll. vostok.*, 1925, I, 195-208, and Pelliot, *Jour. As.*, April 1927, pp. 279-94. It is possible that the Khaydaq received their name from their dominant class composed of outsiders—(as may have been the case with the Caucasian *Avars*)—but, contrary to Barthold, this did not happen at the time of the Mongol invasion, but several centuries earlier, because the name Khaydaq is attested (with various mis-spellings) in Arabic authors of the ninth-tenth centuries A.D. [*Qaḥṭān* may be simply a popular etymology suggested to the chief after his conversion to Islam. For a parallel cf. Mas'ūdī's, II, 67, Arab genealogy of the Ṣanariya.]

The Khaydaqs were better organised than their neighbours of Ṭabar-sarān, but according to Mas'ūdī, II, 39, the only Muslim among them was their prince who claimed descent from Qaḥṭān. Mas'ūdī adds that his title was *salīfān*,<sup>1</sup> and, in fact, under 304/915 we read in our text that the *salīfān*, with a Khazar army, came to the rescue of the amir of al-Bāb. This characteristic episode suggests a close dependence of the Khaydaqs from the Khazars from whom they apparently received their titles and investiture.<sup>2</sup> From the story of the Armeno-Albanian bishop Israel we know that in A.D. 681-2 he visited the Hunnic, i.e. Khazar, chief Alp-Ilutver (\*Alp-elteber) at his residence in Varach'an, see Moses Kalankatvats'i, II, ch. 39.<sup>3</sup> It must be stressed that Varach'an was only a frontier place, and Alp-Ilutver a subordinate Khazar prince (or vassal) whose daughter became the wife of the khaqan. It is quite possible that when the Khazars (see below) pressed by the Arabs transferred their capital from Samandar to the estuary of the Volga, their former summer residence Varach'an was taken over by their vassals the Khaydaqs.

<sup>1</sup> *Salīfān* is an ancient Turkish title transcribed in Chinese *se-li-fa*, see the *T'ang-shu* quoted in Chavannes, *Les T'ou-koue*, p. 164. Muqaddasi, 191, speaks of a Khaydaqān-shāh.

<sup>2</sup> Especially important is the statement by Mas'ūdī, II, 7. See below p. 145-6.

<sup>3</sup> Russian translation by K. Patkanian, 1861, p. 192. See a new translation and commentary by S. T. Yeremyan in *Zapiski Inst. Vostokov.*, VII, 1939, p. 129-55. I do not think his interpretation of the itinerary, which leaves out of account the place "where Saint Grigoris died" and the gate of Chol (Darband), is final. The place of the martyrdom of Grigoris according to Patkanian was the "field of *Vatni*", and Marquart quoted *Vatnean* as a variant of \**Vartanean*, see above, p. 82, n. 3, under Vardān-shāh in Masqat. Thence the bishop travelled to Darband and Varach'an (Bashli). I am under the impression that Israil tried to cross the Caucasian range somewhere near Qabala and then, perhaps, considerably more to the west, in Kakhetia, but bad weather (and possibly some tribal unrest) forced him to return to the east and follow the road along the coast of the Caspian.

As regards the name of the residence I shall summarise the facts partly referred to in my commentary on the *Hudūd al-Ālam*, pp. 449 and 453.

(a) Theophanes, 358, cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-Turcica*, II, 1943, p. 88, quotes the name of the ancient Khazar district *Βερζυλία*.

(b) According to Balādhuri, 195, Khusrau-Anūshirvān met the khaqan of the Khazars at *al-Barshaliya*.

(c) The summer residence of the Khazar king called *Varshan* is mentioned in the Hebrew letter of the Khazar king, ed. Kokovtsov, pp. 85-6.

(d) In A.D. 681-2 the bishop Israel visited Alp-Ilutver in Varach'an.

(e) Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, 380-2, calls the place where towards A.D. 733-4 Maslama met the Khazar king *ورثان* *Warthān*. This is a definite confusion with the name of a town on the Araxes, whereas the name of the town in Daghestan should be restored as *ورشان* *Warashān* (\*Varachan).

Already the discerning d'Ohsson suggested the identity of these names with the present-day Bashlī. This surmise becomes still more likely in view of the earlier spelling of *Bashlī* as *Barshlī* (perhaps \**Barashlī*), see Reineggs, *Allgemeine Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, 1796, I, 103, who mentions Barshlī as one of the five districts belonging to the Utsmi. Bashlī lies on the river Gumri (perhaps Russian pronunciation of Humri?)<sup>1</sup> which flows north of the Boghan (Buam) considered as the centre of the Qaytaq territory.

Apart from the arrival of the *salīfān* in 304/915 (see above) our source quotes the following facts relative to the rulers of Khaydaq. In 457/1064 an amir of Khaydāq (whose name is unfortunately mutilated) sent his *ghulāms* to support the husband of his granddaughter, amir Manṣūr of al-Bāb. Manṣūr's brother Lashkarī apparently had also some marriage ties with Khaydāq, for his son 'Abd al-Malik was brought up in the house of a Pīrūz b. al-Sakbān (?) in Khaydāq (§§41, 42, 43) and was strongly supported by the Khaydaqs (in 460/1068).

The consecutive residences of the Qaytaq rulers (*utsmi*) are said to have been: Qal'a-Quraysh (Urgmuzda), Ghapsh, Majālis (on the Boghan) and Bashlī. According to Baki-khanov, *l.c.*, p. 88, Majālis was founded by the *utsmi* Sultan-Ahmad, who died in 996/1588, "on an empty place, where people used to congregate for deliberations". In the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries the *utsmi* lived in Bashlī. This shifting of residences from the highlands (S.W.) towards the lowlands (N.E.) took place later,

<sup>1</sup> The name is not quite certain. P. P. Semenov's geographical dictionary of Russia calls the river Bashlī-ozen, or Tuzdī-ozen; but see below p. 97.



when the rulers bore the title *utsmi* (see below p. 104), while in earlier times the situation may have been different. The curious report (§40) on the arrival of the remnants of the Khazars in the town of Qaḥṭān must be confronted with Mas'ūdī's indication that the ruler of Khaydaq claimed descent from Qaḥṭān. In fact it is possible that the place where the last Khazars were settled was the already mentioned Barshaliya/Bashli.<sup>1</sup>

KARAKH. Another neighbour of al-Bāb was the principality whose name is spelt now كرج and now كرخ. The latter (*\*Karakh*) must be the correct reading. Mas'ūdī (writing in 332/943), II, 39, says that *K.r.j* had a Muslim king whose title was B.rzbān (*\*Marzubān?*).<sup>2</sup> His principality lay to the west of *\*Khaydāq* in the direction of the Sarīr and its population was armed with maces. Mas'ūdī mentions it separately from the Ziriḡ-garān (Kubachi) and the Ghumīq.

It is true that an Avar community called Karakh lived on the middle course of the Avar-qoysu, see Genko, *l.c.*, 99, but this Karakh, lying within the heart of the Avar territory at a considerable distance from Darband, *cannot* be identical with our Karakh. I have no hesitation in identifying the latter with Ur-karakh, a borough of the Dargua territory situated at some 60 km. from Darband, as the crow flies.<sup>3</sup> It occupies an important position on the road from Central Daghestan (the Qoy-su basin) to Khaydaq and Darband (see I. Rusta, below p. 168). The ruler of this western outpost situated outside the fortified zone could very properly bear the title of *\*marzubān*.

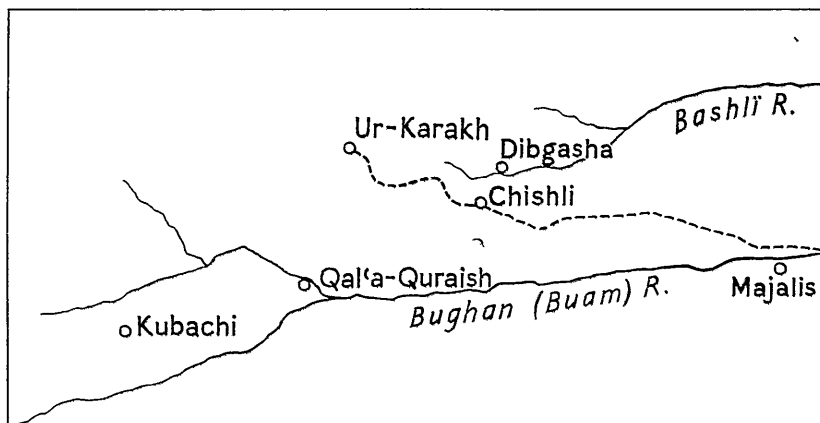
The villages *\*Chishli* and *\*Dibgasha* (pp. 96, 102), mentioned in our text in the course of operations against Shandān, lie close to Ur-karakh. If Shandān, as we assume, corresponds to Aqusha (see below p. 104), it is natural to expect that the villages in the neighbourhood of Ur-karakh were changing hands and passing from Khaydāq and Darband to Shandān, and from Shandān to Khaydāq and Darband.

<sup>1</sup> It may be added that Bashli now forms the frontier between the Turkish Qumīq population (living along the strip of the Caspian coast) and the "Azarbay-jan" Turks who infiltrated from the south at a later time (Kozubsky).

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 155, n. 1. The first river to the north of Darband is called on the Russian map Darvan (quite likely *\*Dar-Vaq?*). It drains the northern slope of the line of fortifications (Darvakh, Ersi, Düvek etc.). Its north-western headwater is called Barzan. The exact pronunciation is unknown (*barzan* "suburb", or *barzān?*) and I cannot decide whether it has any connection with the title *barzbān* quoted by Mas'ūdī. This river flows quite close to the Boghan in the basin of which stand Ur-karakh, Kubachi, Majālis etc.

<sup>3</sup> Erckert, p. 204, calls the place "not unimportant". Even at present it remains the administrative centre of a district (which includes Kubachi).

According to our source, in 385/995 \*Karakh was converted to Islam by the amīr of al-Bāb. In 424/1035 it happened to be on the way of the Alāns and the Rūs advancing on al-Bāb (i.e. from the north-westerly direction!). We hear no more of a special \**marzubān* in Karakh and the fact that in defeating the invaders the leading rôle belonged to the "chief of the tanners" Haytham b. Maymun al-Bā'i (\*Bābī?) may find its explanation in the control which at that time Darband exercised at this western outpost of its territory. Under 457/1065 we hear of some \*Karakhī chiefs siding with the rebellious chief of al-Bāb, Mufarrij.



Position of Ur-Karakh.

After Karākh it would be natural to speak of Shandān, but it is better to relegate this difficult question to the very end, until we have considered all the other parts of Daghestan mentioned in Arabic sources.

**GHUMĪQ.** The infidel<sup>1</sup> Ghumīq appear in the text only once: in 456/1064 profiting by internal struggles in al-Bāb they devastated the countryside of the town and even imposed *kharāj* on the survivors. There is no doubt about the identity of this people which is now known as Ghāzī (or Qāḏī > Qazi)-Qumukh and lives in the valley of that branch of the Qoy-su which bears this name. Their neighbours to the east are the Aqusha people, and in the west the Avar. The Qumukh call

<sup>1</sup> These mountaineers, speaking a Caucasian language (in 1926 over 40,000 speakers), have nothing to do with the Turkish *Qumīq* living nearer the Caspian sea. It is indeed possible that *Qumīq* is only a Turkish pronunciation of *Ghumīq*/*Qumūkh*, because the rulers of these (originally Qipchaq) Turks, who bore the title of *shamkhāl*, came from Ghāzī-Qumūkh. At the same time the real Ghāzī-Qumūkh had become independent from their former dynasty, see Barthold, *Daghestan in E.I.* A cemetery of the *shamkhāl* family at Qumukh was explored in 1950. See L. I. Lavrov in *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii*, Moscow 1957, XVII, 373-84.

themselves *Lak*.<sup>1</sup> They are frequently mentioned in the early Arabic literature. I. Rusta, 47-8, speaks of them in his chapter on al-Sarīr (Avar),<sup>1</sup> and Mas'ūdī, II, 40, adds that they were Christians. According to Balādhuri, 206, al-Jarrāh attacked the inhabitants of Ḥ.mzīn whom he transplanted to Khayzān (\*Khaydāq), then fought the Ghumīq and came to Shakkī. In fact, in the south, the valley of the Qumukh river has a road for communications with Shakkī.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that the sharvanshah Farīburz was trying to convert the Ghumīq using the Lakz as his intermediaries. This suggests that the sharvanshah had a way of communication with the Ghumīq (outside the road *via* Darband). See Minorsky—C. Cahen in *J. As.*, 1949, p. 138. Like Balādhuri, our source distinguishes between Ghumīq and Shandān (see below).

In the report of Balādhuri, 208, on the conquests of Marwān b. Muḥammad, the capitulation of al-Sarīr (Avaria) is followed by that of the Tūmān, who accepted "to give every year 100 young people, *viz.* 50 maids and 50 lads, each 5 spans in height, with black hair and eyebrows and with long eyelashes, plus 20,000 *mudy* (of grain) for the granaries". As the Avars give their Ghāzī-Qumūkh neighbours the name *T'umaw*, plur. *T'umal*, it is probable that *Tūmān* is only a homonym of *Ghumīq*, or possibly designates a group of the latter.

THE SARĪR. The people of the "Master of the Throne" (*ṣāhib al-Sarīr*) are the present-day Avars, i.e. the mountaineers occupying the valley of the central Qoy-su. In the tenth century the dominions of the lord of the Sarīr must have comprised other neighbouring nations, see I. Rusta, 147-8, and even now the Avar language (*bolmats*) plays the rôle of *lingua franca* in the highlands of Daghestan, see *Ḥudūd*, p. 447, and map on p. 399.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below Annex IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ḥamzīn* حمزين whence al-Jarrāh penetrated into Ghumīq might be restored as حمري \**Humri*, the river flowing in the north of the Qaytaq territory and in its upper part stretching towards the Qumukh territory. Alternately, it might be the village of \**Humri* which lies in the Avar territory on the Qoy-su, near the confluence of its branches, see *Derbend-nāmeḥ*, 31. From an informative article of Z. A. Nikolskaya on the "National consolidation of the Avars," *Soviet. etnografiya*, 1953, No. 1, 111-24, I learn that formerly there existed a trade-route from Nukhī (Shekki!), *via* Akhtī—Qazi-Qumukh (!)—Khunzakh (Avaria), towards the Black sea (Anapa). [In *Ḥ.mzīn* the dot over *z* may be a *ḍamma* over *h/j*].

<sup>3</sup> The number of the pure "Avars" is now 240,000, of whom 200,000 live in Daghestan in a compact mass. The geographical position of the Avars, in the centre of Daghestan, contributed to their leading rôle among the neighbours. See Z. A. Nikolskaya in *Soviet. etnografiya*, 1953, No. 1, pp. 113-24, and in *Narodī Dagestana*, 1955, p. 24-67.

The members of the important Avar group had no special name for themselves, except *ma'arūlāl* "mountaineers,"<sup>1</sup> but the name *Avar*, given to them by some of their neighbours (Qumīq, Dargua), has been adopted by the Russians and now is used by the Avars themselves. We shall see that it finds support in the title of the king of the Sarīr (I. Rusta, 147-8: *Awār*).

All the authorities agree that the title *Ṣāhib al-sarīr* "the Master of the (golden) Throne" is of Sasanian origin but vary in their legendary details.<sup>2</sup>

More interesting is the other title of the ruler which has survived in Balādhuri, 196, namely *\*V.hrzān-shāh*.<sup>3</sup> This title is quoted among the honorifics which Anūshirvān is said to have conferred on various kings of Daghestan, apparently at the time when the defence of this remote march was organised (see above p. 14).<sup>4</sup> The title is surely of Iranian origin and, by analogy with such Caucasian names as Lak-z, its z must be the Iranian suffix of origin (*nīsba*). The same name is reflected in the Armenian Aurhaz-k', which according to Thomas Artsruni was the name of a Caucasian people. In the *Ẓafar-nāma*, I, 772 (early fifteenth century) the former Sarīrians are called *Auhar*. In the *Derbend-nāmeḥ*, 94, 200, the Avar territory seems to be referred to as *Ahrān* (perhaps *\*Vahrān*). In view of several traces of the toponymy of Gilan found in Sharvan and Daghestan (see above, p. 15) one might postulate some connection between *\*Vahr/Auhar* and the well-known title *vahr-īz*, cf. Dinawarī, 65, mostly connected with the Caspian provinces.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the *Derbend-nāmeḥ*, 6, 12, 23, 27, 94.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mas'ūdī, II, 41, see Annex III, the dynasty was issued from Bahrām Gūr. In Istakhrī, 223, the transfer of the throne to Daghestan is connected with the fall of the Sasanians. In the somewhat confused version in *Nihāyat al-irab* (Cambridge Univ. Library, Qq 225, f. 187b, see E. G. Browne in *JRAS*, 1900, p. 271, and the page reproduced in photograph by Geo Widengren in *Orientalia Suecana*, 1952, I, pp. 69-94), the appointment of the hereditary marzubān called *malik al-sarīr*—with 12,000 "cavaliers" (*asāwira*) under his orders—is attributed to Khusrau I. According to Nizāmi, *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. 'Ali-Zadeh and Bertels, Baku 1947, pp. 300-8, the throne had belonged to the Kayānid Kay-Khusrau. Cf. *Ḥudūd*, §49.

<sup>3</sup> Several variants, not excluding the possibility of one or two characters being superfluous (*\*Vahrzān*?).

<sup>4</sup> It does not appear among the titles granted by Ardashīr I, see Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 126, Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides*, 409. In Faustus of Byzantium one commander bears the title *\*vahrīch-i vahrīchan* to which *\*vahrizān-shāh* might be a close parallel. The present-day borough of Abhar (on the road *Qazvīn-Zanjān*) is called *Auhar* in the *Ḥudūd* (§31, 17) but it is difficult to say whether this name is relevant to our problem.

It is for the specialists to decide whether the evolution of the forms \**Vahrār-z*, *Aurha-z*, *Ahrān* (*Vahrān*?), etc., towards *Avār* can be explained as a purely Iranian phenomenon, or by the influence of local factors. However, the independent origin of the term *Avar* has also serious claims in view of the statement of I. Rusta, 147, according to which "the king (of the Sarīrians) is called *Awār*."<sup>1</sup> As the text stands this term refers to the rulers and *not* to the people. Like in many similar cases, the dynasty of the Sarīr may have been of foreign origin and *Avar* presents a striking analogy with the name of the well-known Altaic conquerors of the fifth century A.D. In this direction one might quote an additional title, *khāqān al-jabal*, which, according to Balādhurī, 196, Anūshīrvān granted to the ruler of the Sarīr. Among the officers of the ruler our source mentions *tarkhāns* and *batrīqs*, of which the first category is Altaic by name. Such argument is not peremptory, for the penetration into Daghestan of Turkish titles and ranks might have taken place under the influence of the *neighbouring* Khazar kingdom. We know that even the king of the Russians (*Rūs*), according to I. Rusta, 145, was known as *Rūs-khāqān*, and in fact the metropolitan Ilarion (appointed in 1051) called Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich (978-1015) "our khagan". Theoretically, it is quite possible that there were some Altaic infiltrations into the basin of the Qoy-su, or that the ancient dynasty ruling over the mountaineers was of Altaic origin.<sup>2</sup>

According to Mas'ūdī, II, 41, the prince professed Christianity and according to I. Rusta, 147, his subjects too were Christians. In fact, numerous traces of Christianity (crosses, chapels) are found within the Avar territory and it is now assumed that Christianity, penetrating from Georgia, survived among the Avars down to the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> In this regard our source brings an indirect but welcome confirmation, while it gives the names of three rulers: \*Bukht-Yishō', who ruled in 292/903, another Bukht-Yishō', who in 416/1025 married his daughter Sāriya (Sarah?) to amir Manšūr, and T.qū b. Frūj who was the father-in-law of the usurper Mufarrij (under 457/1065). The last name is possibly of local Caucasian origin (Takho?), but the name Bukht-Yishō' ("Jesus has saved") is a typical Christian name of Syriac origin. As is known, the "thirteen Syrian fathers" said to have arrived in Georgia in the fifth-sixth century played a great rôle in the development of monastic life in that country. [\**Bukht* for *Cōkht*].

<sup>1</sup> Gardīzī: *Awāz*. Both I. Rusta and Gardīzī are using the same source: the book of Jayhānī, now lost.

<sup>2</sup> In this case, however, no bridge can be built between the initial *Avar* and the more aberrant names (*Vahrārzān* etc.), which will remain in a different category.

<sup>3</sup> See E. M. Schilling, 'A scientific expedition to Daghestan in 1945', *Institut etnografii, Kratkīye soobscheniya*, 1947, II, 19.

Mas'ūdī, II, 42, speaks of the reciprocal family links established in his time between the king of the Alāns and the lord of the Sarīr.

In our source, we see the Sarīrians allied now to the Alāns and the Khazars (in 300/912), now to the Alāns alone (during the formidable raid on Sharvān in 423/1032), and now to "various Turks" (in 456/1064).<sup>1</sup> In their dealings with their Muslim neighbours the lords of the Sarīr showed some generosity (see under 292/905 and 300/912), but their policy changed continuously. Only at an earlier date (towards 247/851) do we hear of a daring attack of the Sharvānshāh on the lord of the Sarīr. In 358/968 the amir of al-Bāb, with the help of the Sarīr, raided Sharvān but in 360/971 the Sarīr inflicted heavy losses on al-Bāb. During the events of 423/1032, al-Bāb supported Sharvān against the northern invaders (see above). In 447/1055 the lord of the Sarīr mediated for the restoration of amir Manšūr, but in 456/1064, at the instigation of Manšūr's enemies, he attacked al-Bāb. Soon after, the Lord of the Throne came to Masqaṭ to help his son-in-law Mufarrij.

FĪLĀN. As if the plethora of honorifics of the Lord of the Sarīr were insufficient, Mas'ūdī II, 41-2, quotes *Filān-shāh* as being his additional title. This statement (possibly referring to a Sarīrian conquest, or due to some lacuna in the text) is suspect, and Balādhurī, 197, in his list of Anūshirvān's appointments clearly distinguishes between the Lord of the Throne and the *Filān-shāh*. The same is true for I. Khurdādhbih, 123, who quotes separately the passes of the two potentates.

Filān-shāh is mentioned only at the time of the Islamic conquest and in Balādhurī, 207, the shahs of Sharvān, \*Layzān, Ṭabarsarān, Filān and \*Khurshān (Khursān) appear before Maslama as one group.<sup>2</sup>

In the story of the interpreter Sallām, whom the caliph Wāthiq sent to inspect the wall of Gog and Magog, see I. Khurdādhbih, 162, I. Rusta,

<sup>1</sup> On this occasion the chiefs of the Sarīr army are called *tarkhāns* (see above) and *batriqs*. The latter title (Greek *πατρικιος*) may refer to Christian Sarīrians.

<sup>2</sup> The same is true of the curious, though obscure, report found in some versions of Istakhri, pp. 184-7 (cf. Yāqūt I, 437-8) which enumerates the districts from an observation point which is not clear: al-Bāb; Masqaṭ (on the sea-coast); the Lakz country; then (between it and al-Bāb) Tabarsarān; then "above (*fauqa*) it Filān, which is not a large district"; on this side (*dūna*) of Masqaṭ stands the town of Shābarān and above (*fauqa*) it the rustāq of J.shmdān (cf. Balādhurī, 206: Ḥ.smdān in the neighbourhood of Lakz); behind it (*warā'*—apparently "to the south") lie the "mountain estates", and Sharvān down to the limits of Bākūh, D.rnyq (above the confluence of the Kur and the Araxes, see Istakhri, 189, v.s. p. 77), Lakz (again?), the confluence of the two rivers (*majma' al-baḥrayn*); then beyond (*khalfa*) this (Sharvān?), Lyrān (\*Layzān) with a strong fortress inside which there are springs forming cascades. Cf. J. H. Moeller, *Liber climatum auctore . . . el-Isstachri*, Gotha 1839, p. 80. Yāqūt's impression, I, 438, was that the Filān were a tribe by the side (*bi-janb*) of Ṭabarsarān.

149, and Muqaddasī, 362, the envoy travels to Tiflis, where Ishāq b. Ismā'īl (in fact married to a Sarīrian princess) gives him a letter of introduction to Šāhib al-Sarīr; the latter sends him on to the king of the Alāns, who directs him to the Filān-shāh, and this prince sends him on to the *Tarkhān malik al-Khazar*. The title *tarkhān* would suggest a subaltern, or local, amir in the Khazar administration (maybe the ruler of Khay-dāq?). In any case the itinerary is embroiled, and the movements of the envoy erratic.

In his 'Iberer und Hyrkaner', in *Caucasica*, 8, 1931, Marquart was tempted to restore فیلان as \*قیلان Qylān (on the basis of an incomplete spelling in Ya'qūbī, *History*, I, 203) and then to compare it with the Γέλαι who, together with Λήγαι (Lak-z), lived between the Amazons and the Albanians, see Theophanes of Mytilene in Strabo XI 5, 1. The latest authority, A. N. Genko, *l.c.*, 108, wished to see in these *\*Qaylān* the Avars of the Qel community living on the middle course of the Avar Qoy-su. I doubt the correctness of this complicated reasoning and I think that in his loose enumeration of Japhet's descendants between the Caspian and Armenia, Ya'qūbī's فیلان is simply a misspelling for \*قیداق (in our text خیداق), which otherwise would be missing in his list.

My personal impression is that the mysterious principality, or its remnants, might be sought in southern Daghestan. In the region between eastern Shakkī and the Samūr, I am struck by the number of place-names in which the element *Fil* is attested, for example Filiffi (perhaps *\*Fil-i Filān*, like *Gil-i Gilān?*), Stas-Fili, Fili-dzakh, etc. It is here that I would look for the remnants of the long forgotten people.<sup>1</sup>

SHANDĀN. Yāqūt, III, 328, spells *\*Shandān* ("one of the lands of the Khazar") but in I, 438, gives *Sindān*.<sup>2</sup> The identification of this nation, described in §8 as "the most violent (*ashaddu*) enemy of the Muslims", is a major headache.

For the first time Shandān is mentioned in the course of Marwān b. Muhammad's campaign in Daghestan. According to Balādhuri, 208,

<sup>1</sup> As an entirely tentative surmise, I would compare the Islamic *Fil* with the ancient *Lupenii* (Armenian *Lip'in*), with a metathesis round the *l*, cf. *Hudūd*, 454. Their location in the region between Shakkī and the Samūr (see above) would be of some interest for the explanation of the route followed by the bishop Israel (see above p. 93, n. 3). [However, I. Khurd. (see above, p. 12) seems to use a correct transcription of *Lip'in*, namely *L.b.n.*]

<sup>2</sup> We cannot yet say whether the same name is reflected in that of the ruined castle Shandān which stands some 450 km. to the south, in Russian Tālish (in the bend which the Soviet frontier makes between Astarā and Ardabil), and which was a castle of a special hereditary ruler, *sipahbad* of Gilān, on whom see Minorsky, *BSOAS*, 1954, XVI/3, 524-6.

when Shandān capitulated it offered to the conqueror 100 youths, with the promise to send 5,000 *mudy* ("modii") yearly to the granary of Darband. In 297/909 (or according to §8 in 300/912) amir 'Alī b. Haytham of Sharvān, together with Muhammad b. Hāshim of al-Bāb (§33) suffered a great defeat at the hands of the people of Shandān and both were taken prisoner. On the contrary, the two expeditions from al-Bāb during 326/938 achieved their aim (§34). In 429/1037 the people of Shandān attacked al-Bāb unsuccessfully. In 432/1040 (§39) an Islamic expedition against Shandān was sent from al-Bāb. The only later record of Shandān can be discovered in Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār, *Jour. As.*, 1949, p. 119, where it is said that the sharvanshah Farīburz conquered "Ghumīq and Sulwār, up to the Alāns". Most likely this سلوار should be restored as شندان.<sup>1</sup>

Some hints at the position of Shandān can be gathered from the facts that in 300/912 its allies were the Sarīrians and the Khazars, and that the Khaydāq cavalry took part in the expedition against it in 326/938. This shows that these spirited heathens lived to the north, or north-west, of Darband. Of the villages connected with their territory we hear only of شیشلی and دیکس. Having looked through Kozubsky's tables of villages of Daghestan, I have come to the conclusion that \**Shīshlī* and \**Dibgash* must correspond to the villages Chishli and Dibgasha lying some 20 kms. east of Ur-karakh (see above p. 96).<sup>2</sup> Geographically Chishli and Dibgasha are connected as closely as their names in our text.

This identification is of some importance for several other Daghestanian problems. The text of Ibn Rusta, 147, has obviously suffered from abridgment (see Annex IV), but it describes a road connecting the castle of the Sarīr with \*Khaydāq—twelve stages long. At 10 farsakhs from \*Khaydāq (or, according to Gardizī, from the castle) stands ربحس (\*Dibgash)—apparently along the same road (the Castle—Dibgash—

<sup>1</sup> Literary reminiscences of *S.ndān* are found in the *Derbend-nāme*h, pp. 117, 190, 194, 203.

<sup>2</sup> In Arabic *š* is a natural substitute for *č*, and شیشلی can be easily restored as شیشلی Chishli. The name دیکس appearing in our source can be easily read *D.nk.s*, *D.bk.s*, *D.bk.sh*. It should be compared with the name appearing in I. Rusta, 108, as ربحس and in the *Hudūd*, §49, 3, as ربحس or دبحس: *R.nj.s*, *D.nj.s*. It must be remembered that in Arabic spelling *j* stands for *g* but that in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries the sound *g* in foreign words is often expressed by Arabic *k* (instead of the earlier *j*). Thus Ibn al-Athīr calls the Georgians *Kurj* (instead of Mas'ūdī's *Jurj*). In our case we can easily equate the *k* of *Dy.k.s* with the *j* of *R.nj.s*. In Arabic script *d* and *r*, *s* and *sh* and *y* and *b* are constantly confused. Therefore, apart from the decisive geographical considerations, the identity of *R.NJ.S* and *DYKS* is very likely. The local toponymy suggests the restoration \**D.BG.SH* for the present-day Dibgasha!



the town of Khaydāq). Actually Ur-karakh is an important point on the road between Aqusha (on the easternmost tributary of the Qoy-su) and the Qaytaq centres.<sup>1</sup> Ur-karakh stands on the watershed between three rivers: the Darbākh, the Bughan and the more northerly Art-uzen flowing towards the Bashli-chay (see above p. 94).<sup>2</sup> Chishli and Dibgasha lie in a small valley watered by a headwater of the Art-uzen. In any case, Chishli is shown on the Ur-karakh—Majālis road. These details greatly increase the chances of our identification.

Together, Ur-karakh, Chishli and Dibgasha can be considered as a group of outposts protecting both Khaydāq and Darband from attacks coming from the west, namely from the basin of the Qoy-su, and in the first place from Aqusha. See map on p. 96.

We must remember that Shandān was a considerable centre particularly hostile to Islam. By the method of exclusion, the only region not covered by other, better known, communities would be the valley of Aqusha, lying on the eastern tributary of the Qumukh branch of the Qoy-su. To the west of Aqusha live the Qumukh,<sup>3</sup> and in the east it borders on the territories of Ur-karakh and Khaytāq. Chishli and Dibgasha lie outside the limits of Aqusha, but, being exposed to attacks, they could easily change hands. In language the Aqusha people differ both from the Qumukh and the Avars, but speak a variant of the same group (Dargua) as the Qaytāq. In any case, their isolated position would easily support their independent orientation.

The name Shandān, attested only in the early Arab sources, seems to represent a tribal name \*Shand (or Shind?) plus the Persian plural suffix -ān (cf. Tabarsar-ān). In the sources accessible to me I have found no parallel to it in the present-day toponymy of Daghestan.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> i.e., both for the present-day Majālis (on the Bughan), and the more northerly Bashli. See Annex IV.

<sup>2</sup> The valley of the Yāngi-chay separating the Bughan valley from the Bashli valley is of less importance.

<sup>3</sup> The quotation from Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār (see above, p. 102) is interesting as pairing off the Ghumiq with \*Shandān.

<sup>4</sup> In the first place, the invaluable *Pamyatnaya knizhka* ("Handbook of Daghestan") by E. Kozubsky, Temir-khan-shura 1895 (contains a complete list of villages and administrative divisions); see also Rittich, *Ethnographical map of the Caucasus* (in Russian); Erckert, *Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*, 1888 (map); Dirr, 'Die heutigen Namen d. Kaukasischen Völker' in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1908, 204-212 (see p. 211); N. Y. Marr, 'Kavkazskiye plemenniye nazvaniya', Petrograd 1922, 39 pp.; Dirr, *Einführung in das Studium der Kaukasischen Sprachen*, 1928, II, 13; A. N. Genko, 'Arabic and the Caucasian studies' (in Russian), *Trudi Inst. Vost.*, 1941, XXXVI, pp. 81-110 (an excellent study). The recent literature on Daghestan in Russian is too detailed for enumeration. A convenient outline of ethnology by a group of specialists is found in *Narodi Daghestana* ("The peoples of Daghestan"), Moscow, 1955.

On the other hand, the name *Aqusha* seems to be a more recent appellation. It is first attested towards the end of the fourteenth century in the history of Tīmūr, where it has the form *Ashkūja*.<sup>1</sup> In their own language the peoples of Daghestan refer to themselves mostly in such general terms as "men", whereas their neighbours apply to them an astonishing variety of nicknames, see Dirr, *l.c.* Therefore, it is quite possible that Shandān and Ashkūja (later Turkicised (?) into Aqusha) may represent the same entity.<sup>2</sup>

Another surmise about the name *Shand-/Shind-* might be that it reflected not the name of the *people* but that of the *dynasty*, or the upper caste, perhaps similarly to the designation of the kings of the Sarīr as *Awar*, see above.<sup>3</sup>

To conclude, I should like to point out that the titles under which the local rulers were known in later times (namely *Nusal*, or *Nutsal*, of the Avar; *Shauqal*, or *Shamkhāl*, of the Ghāzi-Qumūq; *Ūsmi*, or *Utsmi*, of the Qaytāq, and *Maysūm*, or *Ma'sūm* of Ṭabarsarān) do not occur either in the *T.-B.* or in other Arabic sources. These later—and still mysterious—titles, have nothing to do with the Sasanian honorifics which were still remembered in early Islamic times.

<sup>1</sup> *Zafar-nāma*, I, 777–8, the people of Ashkūja were still infidels but 3,000 of their Muslim neighbours (from Ghāzi-Qumūq and Auhar, *i.e.*, Avar, ancient Sarīr) came to their help. In 798/1396 Tīmūr captured Ashkūja and exterminated (?) its inhabitants.

<sup>2</sup> *Ashkūja* sounds almost temptingly similar to the ancient name of the Scythians (in Akkadian *Ashguzai*). This does not mean that the people of Aqusha are remnants of the Scythians, but the name "Scythian" might have been used as loosely as the term "Huns" in recent times. One should remember the abuses of the term *Ashkenaz*, which is only a mis-reading of *Ashguzai*: Gen., 10, 3, and 1 Chron., I, 6: sons of Gomer, Ashkenaz, Riphath and Togarmah; Jeremiah, 51, 27: Ararat, Minni and Ashkenaz (*i.e.*, Urartu, Manneans and Scythians). Among the less known aberrations, one might quote the statement of the Armenian sources that in A.D. 884 the Armenian king Ashot the Great was crowned by the patriarch as "the king of the race of Ashkenaz"! The presence of ancient Jewish colonies in Daghestan might account for some biblical reminiscences, though *Ashkūja* and *Ashkenaz* represent different traditions.

<sup>3</sup> I dare not think of the ancient Mæotic tribe Σινδοί. See E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 1913, pp. 127–8; Marquart, *Komanen*, 1914, pp. 178–180; V. I. Moshinskaya, 'On the Sind state' (in Russian), in *Vestn. drevn. istorii*, 1946, No. 3, pp. 203–8. However, the name *Sind* occurred even in later times. An irrigation canal between Baylaqān and Barda'a was called Sind-su-arkh (?), Nasawī, *Sīrat Jalāl al-dīn*, 225. East of the Caspian see Yāqūt, III, 167: *Sind*, a village near Nisā (Marquart, *Wehrōt*, 7, has shown that in the *Shāh-nāma* this name was corrupted into *Shahd*).

## C. THE FARTHER NEIGHBOURS OF AL-BĀB

THE KHAZAR. The scarcity of local information on the Khazars increases the value of any positive addition to their history. Whatever the exact linguistic group to which the Khazars belonged,<sup>1</sup> politically their state is generally considered as a remnant of the old Turkish state (Kök-Türk, in Chinese *T'u-chüeh*), or rather of the latter's Western federation.<sup>2</sup> On the eve of the Islamic expansion the Khazars were a paramount force in south Russia and eastern Transcaucasia. It is still insufficiently realised what efforts the Arabs had to make to break the Khazar power, see Dunlop, *l.c.*, p. IV. They succeeded in this task only on the eve of the decline of the Omayyads. The Abbasids had to concentrate their efforts in other directions, and the most formidable Khazar invasion of northern Persia took place in 183/799, under Hārūn al-Rashīd, Ṭabari, III, 648 (omitted in Balādhurī). In the earlier period described in the *History of al-Bāb* (ninth-tenth century) the Khazars were still powerful, as attested by the attack on Darband made

<sup>1</sup> Iṣṭakhri, 222: "the language of the Khazars is neither Turkish, nor Persian, and is not associated with the language of any group of nations". Most probably the language of the basic group of the Khazars (together with the old Bulgarian language) was akin to that very aberrant group of Turkish languages which is represented by that of the old Bulgarian inscriptions and that of the present-day Chuvash. But the Khazar state was multi-national. No written documents of the Khazar language have survived. According to *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 20, the Khazars wrote *bil-'ibrāniya*, i.e., in Hebrew (or "in Hebrew alphabet"?). According to Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh (603/1206), ed. E. D. Ross, 46, the Khazars used an alphabet "belonging (*mansūb*) to the Rūs", consisting of twenty-one letters written separately from left to right. Fakhr al-dīn's source is unknown. V. Barthold, 'O pismennosti u Khazar', in *Kultura . . . Vostoka*, Baku 1928, IV, 17, quotes the report of a missionary expedition to the Khazars led by the Slav apostle Cyril-Constantine (ninth century), and admits the possibility of the Greek alphabet having survived among the Khazars even after their conversion to Judaism. On two shards of vessels (hailing probably from the Azov sea region) some graffiti have recently been found: the characters are Greek-Russian but the language still defies decipherment, see M. I. Artamonov, *Soviet. arkheol.*, 1952, 60 and plate 14.

<sup>2</sup> See Barthold, *Khazar in E.I.*, and a much more detailed article by A. Z. Toğan, *Hazar in the Islam Ansiklopedisi*, 1950—valuable but containing a number of risky hypotheses. A detailed bibliography of the Khazars was published by the New York Public Library, 1939, 20 pp. Cf. also Minorsky, *Hudūd*, pp. 450–60. See recently Yakubovsky, 'On the topography of Itil', etc., in *Soviet. Arkheologiya*, 1948, X, 255–70; B. Rybakov, 'On the rôle of the Khazar kaghanate in the history of Russia', in *Soviet. Arkheologiya*, 1953, XVIII, 128–50 (a painstaking article, though somewhat over-rating the reliability of the vague Muslim sources); D. M. Dunlop's works: 'Aspects of the Khazar problem', in *Transactions of Glasgow University Oriental Society*, XII, 1951, 33–44, and especially *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 293 pp., which revises the available sources on the Khazars.

in 288/901 by the king called "son of B.l.jān,"<sup>1</sup> but the strengthening of the Kiev state, some raids from Khwārazm, the pressure of new Turkish tribes and the loose organisation of the state, in which various ethnical and religious groups (Muslim, Christian and Jewish) co-existed side by side, undermined their might. The final blow to their state was dealt by the Kiev prince Svyatoslav who in 965 destroyed the Khazar capital (see below p. 113).

The earlier centre of the Khazars, Samandar,<sup>2</sup> lay in the north-eastern corner of the Caucasus<sup>3</sup> and only under Arab pressure (towards 104/723) was the capital moved to the delta of the Volga.<sup>4</sup> The former Khazar territories near the Caspian sea in the region of Daghestan were insufficiently controlled by the Muslims and a considerable Khazar influence must have survived in them, see below, p. 107.

Before the decline of the Khazars, we hear of a disastrous attack on Shandān by the Muslim princes of Sharvān and al-Bāb. It was beaten off by the spirited mountaineers, with the help of the Sarīr and the Khazars. This happened either in A.D. 909 or 912.

Some time between 303/916 and 318/930 the chief called the *salīfān* of Khaydāq assisted the prince of al-Bāb with a Khazar army. According to Mas'ūdī, II, 39, this title belonged to the prince of Khaydāq. Mas'ūdī wrote in 332/943, and our *salīfān* too may have been the ruler of that region, closely connected with the Khazars (see above p. 93). In this case the position of a Muslim prince, appealing to those against whom he was required to hold his forward post, looks awkward.

A very valuable record referring to the period after the fall of the Khazar kingdom is given under 456/1064, i.e. at the time for which the author of the *T.-B.* can be considered as an eye-witness. Three hundred

<sup>1</sup>Read: \**Buluchan* (?). This is a Khazar name (or rank) identical with that of the general whom the Khazar khāqān sent through Daghestan (Leket'i) to Kakhetia in the reign of the Georgian kings Ioane and Juansher (A.D. 718-86). The *Georgian Chronicle*, Brosset, 256, calls him \**Blučan* (in Armenian *Bulč'an*). Less sure is the connection of this name with the Khazar rank (?) of *Bulšitsi*, see P. K. Kokovtsov, *Jewish-Khazar correspondence* (in Russian), 1932, 118-9.

<sup>2</sup>The name of \*Samandar may be connected with the Hunnic tribe *Zaβendep* (6th century) mentioned in Theoph. Simocatta, p. 260, lines 22-3. Cf. in Serbia *Semenāria*, today *Smederevo*.

<sup>3</sup>Possibly at Tarqu, near Petrovsk (now Makhach-qal'a). A. Z. Toğan identifies it with Qızlar (Kizlyar) on the Terek, but see the *Hudūd*, 452.

<sup>4</sup>According to Mas'ūdī, II, 7, this was the result of Sulaymān (read: *Salmān*) b. Rabī'a al-Bāhili's conquest of Samandar, in the caliphate of 'Othman (23-35/644-56). However, Salmān lost his life in the battle of Balanjar, see Balādhuri, 204, and in his *Tanbīh*, 62, Mas'ūdī says that *this* town was the ancient capital of the Khazars. In any case when Marwān b. Muhammad invaded the territory of the Khazars (after 117/735) their capital was on the Volga(?). On another Khazar centre, Varachan, see above pp. 93-4.

households of the remnants of the Khazar arrived at the town of Qaḥṭān where they became settled.<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the latest record of the Khazars. The exact position of Qaḥṭān, mentioned only in our text, is unknown, but according to Mas'ūdī, II, 7, the population of Samandar (Tarqu?) in his days was still Khazar and the princes of Khaydāq claimed descent from Qaḥṭān, see below p. 154. These hints combined would indicate that the remnants of the Khazars came back to the region in close proximity to the Khaydāq, i.e. to the territories which they had evacuated (partly?) under the pressure of the Arabs.<sup>2</sup>

THE ALĀN.<sup>3</sup> In the tenth century the strongest force in the central part of Northern Caucasus was the Iranian Alāns, who most probably counted a number of Caucasian tribes among their vassals.<sup>4</sup> Their capital, which Mas'ūdī calls *Maghaṣ*, stood apparently in the neighbourhood of the later Vladikavkaz (now *Dzauji-qāu*).<sup>5</sup> The interesting fact is that, in the south-eastern direction, they operated now through the Darial pass (i.e. the Gate of the Alans), and now through Daghestan. As Christians, the Alans were on friendly terms both with the Georgians and with the people of Sarīr. One of the most serious Alan invasions of Transcaucasia was that of 423/1032, which ended in a fiasco. The following year witnessed a strange new alliance between the Alāns and the Rūs. In 454/1062 and in Dhul-qa'da 457/Oct. 1065 the Alāns came through Darial to devastate Arrān.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I find this much in the text, but A. Z. Togan adds that these Khazars passed through (*geçerek*) Darband and submitted to the Seljuks. He connects this migration with Alp Arslan's pressure in the region of Lake Aral. See *Umami Türk tarihine giriş*, pp. 190 and 441. In his article *Hazar* (in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*) he changes the date to A.D. 1076 and adds that the settlement of these "last" Khazars was effected by amir Sav-tegin. I do not know the text on which this interpretation is based.

<sup>2</sup> The present-day Turkish Qumīq who occupy the north-eastern corner of Daghestan along the coast may contain a nucleus of Khazars re-inforced and assimilated by later arrivals from the Qipchaq steppe.

<sup>3</sup> On their connection with the *Ās* < *Ars*, *Aorsi*, see below Mas'ūdī, Annex III, §4.

<sup>4</sup> Of the Chechen-Ingush tribes the Arabs vaguely knew the Durdzuq (*Durdhuq*) and the Dido (Balādhurī, 194: *al-Dūdāniya*, read: *\*al-Diduwanīya*). The northern members of this group of tribes, whose language has numerous Alān (Osset) loan-words, must have lived within the orbit of the Alān kingdom; see an excellent article by the late A. N. Genko, 'From the cultural past of the Ingushes', in *Žap. Koll. Vost.*, V, 1930, pp. 704, 715-730.

<sup>5</sup> See my article 'The Alan capital Māgās', in *BSOAS*, 1952, XIII/4, pp. 221-38.

<sup>6</sup> See the chapter on the Shaddādids (§§15 and 16). This invasion was instigated by the Georgians, see Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 75.

THE RŪS. The last ethnical group with which we meet in our source are the Rūs, i.e. the early Russians, *originally* Scandinavian (Swedish) adventurers, brothers of those Northmen who in Western Europe founded numerous kingdoms. At first, a distinct military caste living on plunder as well as from trade, these Scandinavians superimposed themselves on the Slavonic and Finnish tribes but were gradually absorbed by the races over which they dominated. This happened to the Normans in French Normandy, as it happened in Kiev where the son of Igor (Scandinavian *Ingvar*) and Olga (Scandinavian *Helga*) bore the Slav name Svyatoslav (d. in 972). Groups of Scandinavian adventurers still arrived from the North but the Scandinavian element alone would have proved insufficient for the vast expansionist tendencies of the Kiev state. At the time of Svyatoslav's campaigns on the Volga and in the Balkans his administration and army must have incorporated the basic Slav elements of the Kiev state. If among the princes Scandinavian names still persisted, concurrently with Slav names, this atavistic tendency was no guarantee of the purity of blood even within the ruling caste.<sup>1</sup>

The Arabs, when they came to know Eastern Europe, distinguished between the Rūs and the Slavs (*Saqlab*, plur. *Saqālība*). The Saqlabs best known to the earlier Arab authors were perhaps the western Slavs,<sup>2</sup> although in this group of "Saqālība" the Arab geographers included some non-Slav peoples. Thus along with the \*Walinyānā (Volynians?), Stodorani, Dūlāba (Duliebs), Sorbs, Khorvats, Czechs, etc., Mas'ūdī, III, 61-5, mentions *Nāmjin* (i.e. *Nemčin*, the Slav term for "a German") and *Turk* (i.e. the Hungarians, according to the contemporary Byzantine usage). The Muslim authors knew also of the presence of Slavs in the areas called after the Rūs and the Khazars, but on the whole they did not clearly see the relation of these elements. I shall quote only a few examples:

<sup>1</sup> Scandinavian marriages were still numerous in Yaroslav's time (1015-54), but even in the nineteenth century foreign brides prevailed at European courts. These expensive matches were possible only at the top level of the society. The arrivals of parties of Scandinavian (Swedish) warriors rapidly decreased after Yaroslav, for reasons connected with inner conditions in Sweden. Meanwhile "the Russian policy had received a different orientation and the dominant upper class became completely Slavicised". See Prof. F. Braun, 'Das historische Russland in nordischen Schriften des X.-XIV. Jahrh.', in *Festschrift für E. Mogk*, Halle 1924, p. 156. Cf. also V. Thomsen, *The origin of the Russian state*, Oxford 1877, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> See I. Rusta, 144; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 61-5, explained by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 95-160; Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq (*circa* 355/965), re-edited by the late T. Kowalski, Krakow 1946. My view was doubted by B. N. Zakhoder in *Izv. Geogr. Obshch.*, 1943, vol. 75/6, pp. 24-43.

1. According to Balādhuri, 150 and 208, the future caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad (towards 115-27/733-44) raided the Slavs living in the land of the Khazars<sup>1</sup> and settled 20,000 families of them in Transcaucasia (in Kakhetia) and elsewhere. Ibn A'tham also refers to Marwān's attack on the Slavs and says that Marwān reached the river of the Slavs.<sup>2</sup>

2. In the oldest Arab geographer Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 154, Russian merchants are described as "a kind of Slavs" (*jins min al-Ṣaqālība*) and the Don is called "the Slav river". Idrīsī calls the Don *nahr al-Rūsīya*, though, at his time, the term *Rūs* had lost its former exclusive connotation and was applied to the fully Slavicised Russian state.

3. In the old source used by Ibn Rusta and Gardizī, 145, the Rūs are represented as occupying an island situated in the middle of a lake which probably refers to Novgorod, in Norse *Hólm-garðr* "the town of the island". The Slavs (western) are said to live under their own kings of whom the greatest ("the chief of chiefs") is called *Swyt-blk* "Sveto-pluk" (the famous king of Great Moravia). Finally a town of the Slavs called *V.m.t* (*V.bnūt*, etc.) is mentioned which, according to the *Ḥudūd*, §43, lay in the east of the Slav territory and some of its people resembled the Rūs. This "town", as already suggested by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 113, seems to correspond to an eastern Slav tribe, probably the Vyatichi (earlier: *Vietichi*, on the Oka). The *Ḥudūd*, §44, says that a group of Slavs "live among the Rūs" and serve them.

4. Ibn-Faḍlān, who visited the Volga Bulgars in 309/921, twice (§§1 and 8) calls their king *malik al-Ṣaqālība* ("king of the Slavs"). In spite of A. Z. Toḡan, who has advanced a number of theories<sup>3</sup> in order

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that before the arrival of the Scandinavians, the Poliané tribe of Kiev, the Severyané and the Vyatichi paid "tribute" to the Khazars (see *Russian Primary Chronicle*, under 6367/A.D.859) and that the latter were a conspicuous force in the southern steppes.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Z. Toḡan, *Ibn Fadlans Reisebericht*, 1939, p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> 'Die Schwerter der Germanen', *ZDMG*, 1936, p. 22: "Unter den Saqālība haben die Araber die hellhäutigen und blau-äugigen Völker des Nordens verstanden, d.h. neben den Slaven auf die der Name zunächst bezieht, auch die nicht-Slavischen Germanen, die Finno-Ugren und die hellhäutigen Türken (Bulgare und Kirgizen)." In his other work "Reisebericht", pp. 295-331, the author several times changes his explanations. On p. 305 he says that "in the beginning (Anfangs)" the Bulgars, the Burtās and other peoples of the middle Volga were called Saqālība [though precisely the Bulghar and the Burtās had their own names! V.M.] and later the term was used more "for the German and Finnish peoples, and especially for the Germans and the Baltic peoples". At the very end of his book (p. 330) (where he comes to the problem of slave-trade) the author warns the readers against the impression that he affirms "that the word Saqālība in Arabic literature is used more for the non-Slav than the Slav peoples of Eastern Europe".

to shatter the established meaning of the term *Ṣaqlab*, the easiest explanation would be perhaps to admit that the king of the Bulghar was a king "in charge of the Slav frontier".<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, the presence of Slavs in the Cis-Caucasian region (on the Don?) is supported by the report on the campaign of Marwān b. Muhammad.<sup>2</sup> The Arabs were not at all unaware of the existence of non-Slav tribes in Eastern Europe (Burtās, Visū, Yūra, Bashghurt, Mājghār) to need an abusive extension of the term *Ṣaqliba*. In any case such a use would be imaginable only if we admitted that the Slavs numerically prevailed over the other races.<sup>3</sup>

5. According to Iṣṭakhri, 125-6, and Ibn-Ḥauqal, 382, the Rūs are of three classes: Kūyāba, S.lāwiya and Arthā (Arbā, Urtāb, etc.). Of these, the first name certainly corresponds to the Kiev state where the population (the Polyané tribe) was Slav, whereas the rulers and the military caste were initially Scandinavian (see above). The second name is generally accepted as referring to Novgorod where in fact the population belonged to the *Slovene* tribe, and the Arabic name is definitely derived from this Slav tribe and not from the Scandinavian colony established in Novgorod. Consequently, in this case the Arabs confused the Slavs with the "Rūs". I leave aside the third class which, since Fraehn's time, has been identified with the Mordvan (Finnish) tribe *Erzya*. This is unlikely, if the term *Rūs* had any special Scandinavian connotation, for a Scandinavian would not have been confused with an Eastern Finn. Nor can the *Erzya* be associated with any known

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic one might say \**alā thaghr al-Ṣaqliba*. Such use is historically established. Prince Perōz, the Sasanian governor of Khorasan, had the title "great king of the Kūshān" (against whom he had to protect his country), see Christensen, *L'Iran*, p. 191. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Sasaniden*, p. 156, says that Ṭabari assigns the Khazars to the province (Gebiet) of the spahbedh of Ādharbayjān, in the sense that the latter had to watch their inroads, and as a parallel quotes the term *līnus Saxonicum* in the Roman Empire.

<sup>2</sup> Under 240/854 Ya'qūbī, II, 598, speaks of the Ṣanār (in Upper Kakhetia) who being pressed by Bugha appealed to the lord of the Rūm, the lord of the Khazar and the lord of the Ṣaqlāliba. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 200, considered this passage as the oldest datable reference to a Slav state. See now the results of the recent archaeological exploration by Efimenko and Tretyakov, *Ancient Russian settlements on the Don* (in Russian), 1948, p. 7: "In the eighth-tenth centuries a large area on the upper and middle Don was occupied by one of the Russian (eastern Slav) tribes".

<sup>3</sup> Such smaller un-named races as the Cheremis (Mari) most probably remained unknown to the Arabs and were not distinguished by them from their neighbours, the "Bulghars". We should not imagine that, ten centuries ago, the travellers had scoured the forests and marshes of Central Russia of those days. The mention of the Cheremis in the Khazar king's letter is one of its suspect points.



leadmines, whereas lead is said to be exported from the "Arthā" land. The reading of the name is not at all certain,<sup>1</sup> [See below p. 128].

6. A purely political point of view is reflected in Iṣṭakhri, 10 (cf. I. Hauqal, 15): "the Rūs are a people in the region (or direction) of Bulghar, between the latter and the Saqālība". He adds then that the Pecheneg Turks curtailed the territory (of the Rūs?) and came to live between the Khazars and the Rūm (روم, perhaps روس? "Rūs").

All this goes to show that there was no strict terminology. In fact, the none too numerous Scandinavians could form distinct groups only in the army, or when travelling as parties of merchants, but not among the agricultural and hunting population, who were Slavs. The latter absorbed the Scandinavians, except perhaps the aristocracy (*Rurikovichi*, etc.), less rapidly Slavified.

The naval expeditions of the Rūs on the Caspian form the subject of a vast literature summed up in B. Dorn's unwieldy but painstaking compilation.<sup>2</sup> The earliest Muslim report on the devastation of the southern coast is recorded in the reign of the 'Alid Ḥasan b. Zayd (250-70/864-84) when the Rūs raided Abaskūn (in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian, cf. Ptolemy, Σωκαάνα), but were annihilated. In 297/909 the Rūs arrived in sixteen ships and raided the same coast but again suffered defeat. The following year (298/910) they came in great numbers and raided Sārī, but in Gilan some of their ships were burnt and the remnants retreated.<sup>3</sup> According to the commentators, this last expedition was that which Mas'ūdī, II, 18-25, describes in great

<sup>1</sup> The general historians are handicapped by their reliance on obsolete translations which do not account for variants, or explain the possibility of different readings of foreign names transcribed in Arabic script. As a mere surmise, I would restore the variant found in the *Ḥudūd*, §44, 3.: ارتاب \**Uriāb* as ارمان \**Ur(d)man* (\*Northman, in Russian *Murman*, chiefly Norwegians) and associate them with the White Sea area (Biarmia?) from which Scandinavians could reach the Volga and bring lead (tin) from Sweden. The furs were collected by Northern traders on their way to Bulghar (on the Volga) and to the southern marts. In the order of enumeration the "Arthā" seem to be the farthest distant from Bulghār, cf. the Chester Beatty MS. of Iṣṭakhri, below p. 149. Their savage treatment of foreigners might be compared with Muslim ideas of the combativeness of the northern "Coast-dwellers", see Marvazī, ed. Minorsky, 1942, pp. 34, 114; cf. Marquart, 'Die arktischen Länder' in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, 1924, 261-334, and Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Alam*, 436, 'Addenda', in *BSOAS*, 1955, XVII/2, p. 267. See Annex III, Mas'ūdī, §20.

<sup>2</sup> "Caspia" in *Mémoires de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, 1875 (in two editions, Russian and German).

<sup>3</sup> See Bahā al-dīn b. Muhammad b. Hasan b. Isfandiyyār, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, English resumé by E. G. Browne in *Gibb Memorial series*, p. 199; now in Persian original by Abbas Eghbal, 1320/1941, p. 266.

detail.<sup>1</sup> He says that he had forgotten its exact date but that the event took place some time "after 300" in the reign of the sharvanshah 'Alī b. Haytham. Only now we can recognise this prince in his proper background (§8).

In Miskawayh<sup>2</sup> we have a most detailed account of the invasion of 332/943 in the reign of the Musāfirid Marzubān, which has been used by many later historians. On that occasion the Rūs sailing up the Kur reached Barda'a.

In Russian literature there is a tendency (A. Kunik and even Barthold) to connect the operations of the Rūs on the Caspian with the activities of the Kiev princes against the Byzantine empire. "In the tenth century Oleg, and then Igor and Svyatoslav, campaigned against Byzantium, and after these campaigns there occurred campaigns against the Caspian region", says Barthold in his book, *The place of the Caspian provinces in the history of the Islamic world* (in Russian), Baku 1925, p. 37. But Barthold himself doubts the purport of the Jewish document from the Cairo *geniza*<sup>3</sup> in which it is said that the emperor Romanus, in view of his hatred of the Jews, urged Halgu (Oleg?) to attack the Khazars. According to the Russian Chronicle, Igor had already succeeded Oleg in 913, whereas Romanus Lacapenus became emperor only on 17 December 919. According to the Jewish document, Halgu perished in Persia, a report which is not supported by any other source, if only the Oleg of Kiev is meant by *Halgu*. Finally the raid described in Mas'ūdī was directed *not* against the Khazars but against the Muslims. A. Kunik's hypothesis that the Rus expedition followed on Igor's accession in 913 (which corresponds to the Hijra years 300-1, see Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 301-2, is only a surmise based on the large number of participants in the raid and the general consideration that in time of peace the princes had to devise employment for their warriors. Kunik himself introduces his hypothesis with many "natürlich" and "wahrscheinlich".

Of equal, and, perhaps even greater, likelihood would be the hypothesis that the early expeditions on the Caspian were undertaken by parties of freebooters from the South Russian steppes for whom—though at a later date—a special term, *brodniki*, was used.<sup>4</sup> The term is attested

<sup>1</sup> Both for chronological and factual reasons these two expeditions seem to be distinct.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Margoliouth under the title *The eclipse of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate*, II, 62-7. This report, as abridged by Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 76, figures also in Münejjim-bashī's chapter on the Musāfirids, see Minorsky *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> The so-called 'Cambridge document', see Kokovtsov, *Yevreysko-khazar-skaya perepiska*, 1932, p. 118; cf. now Dunlop, *Jewish Khazars*, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> The term is usually derived from *brod*, in Russian "a ford", assuming that the *brodniki* waited for their victims at the crossings of rivers. However *brodit'* means in Russian "to roam", and the *brodniki* might have been "roamers, vagrants".

for the first time in 1147 (Russian Hypatios Chronicle, ed. 1871, p. 242), as well as under 1216, 1223, yet the phenomenon, abhorrent to the official world,<sup>1</sup> may have been of much older origin, and I have long had suspicions that even the نوکرده (Nūkarda), who, in 320/932, together with the Turkish Bajni, Bajghurd and Pecheneg, operated on the Byzantine frontier on the Danube, cf. Mas'ūdi II, 59, may have been \**Naugarda* "Novgorodians", as already suspected by Frähn and Charmoy, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 143.

Our *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb* continues the history of Russian raids well into the eleventh century. It must be borne in mind that during his expedition of 965<sup>2</sup> to the Volga and Northern Caucasus, the Kiev prince Svyatoslav completely disorganised the life of the local tribes. The once mighty kingdom of the Khazars seems never to have recovered from this confusion.<sup>3</sup> A most valuable report on the repercussions of that expedition is contained in the work of Ibn-Hauqal (pp. 281, 286) who, in the year 358/969, happened to be staying on the southern coast of the Caspian (in Jurjān).<sup>4</sup> He speaks of the refugees on the "island of al-Bāb"<sup>5</sup> and in Siyāh-kūh (Manghishlaq on the eastern coast of the Caspian). He adds (p. 286) that, with the help of the sharvanshah Muhammad b.

<sup>1</sup> During the Mongol invasion the *brodnyks* acted treacherously against the army led by the Russian princes. In 1227, Pope Gregory IX sent missionaries to preach "in Cumanis et Brodnic terra vicina". In a letter which the Hungarian king Béla addressed to Pope Innocent in 1254 he mentions among the enemies threatening his dominions: "Rutheni, Comani, Brodnici", and lower down "Ruscia, Cumania, Brodnici, Bulgaria", see G. Féjer, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*, Budae 1829, IV/2, 218-20. For the quotations from this rare publication I am obliged to Professors A. Florovsky (Prague) and J. Harmatta (Budapest). The latest attack on the Persian coast by the Don Cossacks in revolt against the Tsar took place in 1668.

<sup>2</sup> This is the date given in the Russian Chronicle, see the new edition, 1950, I, 47; English translation by S. H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, Harvard University, 1930, p. 173 (on which see critical remarks by V. T. Pashuto in *Voprosi istorii*, 1951, No. 7, p. 120).

<sup>3</sup> Until now it has been assumed that the Russian Chronicle mentions the capture by Svyatoslav only of the Khazar fortress on the Don, Bela Vezha (Const. Porphyrr., *Sarkel*). However the recently published edition of the Hypatios Codex, see above, says that Svyatoslav took "the town of the Khazars and Bela Vezha."

<sup>4</sup> On several occasions Barthold insisted upon the fact that the date 358/969 refers only to his sojourn in Jurjān and that "it is quite possible that several years had passed between the events and the report on them given to I. Hauqal (p. 282) by the Jurjānians," see 'Arabskiye izvestiya o Russakh', written in 1918 and published posthumously in *Soviet. Vostokovedeniye*, 1940, I, 35. However in two other passages, pp. 15 and 281, I. Hauqal (perhaps inadvertently) repeats the date 358/969 as that of the Russian invasion.

<sup>5</sup> There are no islands off Darband, where the sea is very deep, but there are islands near the estuary of the Terek, where in Timur's time refugees sought security, see *Zafar-nāma*, I, 773.

Ahmad al-Azdī some of the refugees were returning to the Khazar capitals (Ātil and Khazrān).<sup>1</sup> Soon after, new Turkish tribes became paramount in the delta of the Volga but, in the wake of Svyatoslav's expedition, parties of Rūs may have penetrated into the north-western corner of the Caspian.<sup>2</sup> Such adventurers would have established manifold relations with the local tribes, as merchants and traders, and this would explain the curious records found in the *T.-B.*

In our text the earliest reference to the Rūs occurs in the chapter on al-Bāb under 377/987. The amir Maymūn b. Ahmad, being hard pressed by the refractory "chiefs", communicated in secret with some Rūs<sup>3</sup> who accordingly arrived in eighteen ships. By Mas'ūdī's standards, II, 18, this fleet must have been manned by some 1,800 men. First, only one ship put in at Darband as a scout. The amir was liberated, but the population massacred the Rūs. The remaining (seventeen) ships sailed on to Sharvān and Mūqān to the "old river".<sup>4</sup> We do not know what happened to them but there is no doubt that they did not go there to "pick violets".

The events of 987 did not deter Maymūn from relying on the Rūs, for two years later (in 379/989) we hear of a struggle between the amir and the fanatical preacher who arrived from Gilan and requested the amir to surrender his Russian *ghulāms* that they should be converted or put to death. It seems likely that the preacher's request was connected with exploits of the raiders on the southern coast, and the fear lest the Rūs might use al-Bāb as a harbour for further depredations. However, the amir would not give way but retreated, together with his *ghulāms*, to Tabarsarān, even at the cost of temporarily losing his throne. This suggests that the number of the Rūs in his service was considerable, and that they formed around him a kind of *družhina* ("comitatus").

The following reference to the Rūs occurs in the chapter of Sharvān. In 421/1030 the Rūs came to Sharvān in thirty-eight ships<sup>5</sup> and the sharvanshah Minūchihr b. Yazīd met them near Baku. The Sharvansians suffered losses and the Rūs went up the Kur (?) and possibly reached the confluence of the Kur and the Araxes. Though the Russians drowned

<sup>1</sup> This particular statement may be a later addition by the author. The name of the prince should be restored as: \**Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Yazīdī*, cf. §11.

<sup>2</sup> They may have had a base somewhere near the estuary of the Terek (the spit of Agrakhan?), whence the Khazar refugees had been repatriated.

<sup>3</sup> This would have been impossible, had the Russians been far off!

<sup>4</sup> As is well known, the Kur has two estuaries separating at Sāliyān. It must not be forgotten, however, that a river called Kuhan-rūd "the old river" exists further down in the south, in Persian Tālīsh. Cf. Muqaddasi, 373: *Kuhan-rūd*h—four marḥalas from the Kur. There existed a town on the Kuhan-rūd, *ibid.*, 355.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the chapter on Arrān (§10) which I am using for completing the text. See my *Studies*, p. 76, and my notice in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, III/3, pp. 207-10.

some Muslims, Minūchihr seems to have barred<sup>1</sup> their progress up the Araxes. At that moment the ruler of Arrān (Ganja) Faḍl b. Muḥammad was struggling with his son 'Askariya (\*'Askarūya?) who was besieged at Baylaqān (north of the Araxes, on the way to Barda'a). Faḍl's eldest son, Mūsā, hastened to engage the Rūs adventurers for his father's cause. The Rūs abandoned their boats and helped Mūsā to take Baylaqān. Richly rewarded, the Rūs moved westward to Rūm, i.e. apparently to the western parts of the Caucasus controlled by the Byzantines,<sup>2</sup> and then, completing their circuit of the Caucasus, returned to their own country. It is quite likely that their destination was Tmutorokan,<sup>3</sup> the short-lived Russian principality at the entrance to the Azov sea, which was founded by Yaroslav's son, Mstislav, at about that time.<sup>4</sup> In this particular case it is tempting to connect the raid of 1030 with the founding of Tmutorokan which brought the Russians to the very gate of the Caucasus.

The result of this expedition must have encouraged the Rūs to return two years later.<sup>5</sup> In 423/1032 they devastated Sharvān but, for some reasons, had to retreat by land through Daghestan. They possibly had some agreement with the Alāns that the latter should support them from the north. This time, however, the *ghāzīs* of al-Bāb, led by their amir Maṣṣūr b. Maymūn, occupied the passes, put the Rūs to the sword and captured the booty they were carrying.<sup>6</sup> In the following year the

<sup>1</sup> In the chapter on Arrān the word *'aqada* has fallen out.

<sup>2</sup> In 1021-2 the emperor Basil II was warring with the Georgian king Giorgi. In 1022 the Armenian king of Vaspurakan ceded his kingdom to the Byzantines and the emperor advanced as far as Khoi. In the following years the Byzantines were working to reduce the northern Armenian kingdom of Ani. Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> I believe that this name (apparently a Khazar name composed with *-tarkhan*) has finally resolved itself into the present-day name of the *Taman* peninsula. (My teacher A. E. Krimsky explained the first element of the name as *tamagh* "estuary, straits", cf. Budagov's *Slovar*, p. 376).

<sup>4</sup> See Russian Primary Chronicle under 6530/1022: "Mstislav, who was in Tmutorokan, attacked the Kasog" (see Mas'ūdi: *\*Kasak* = Cherkas). Year 6531/1023: "Mstislav marched against Yaroslav with a force of Khazars and Kasogs". Year 6532/1024: "while Yaroslav was in Novgorod, Mstislav arrived before Kiev from Tmutorokan". See the new edition, 1950, I, 99; English translation by S. H. Cross, p. 223.

<sup>5</sup> Under 422/1031 (after the accession of Mūsā b. Faḍl), the chapter on Arrān (§11) refers to the arrival of the Russians for the second time. "And he (Mūsā?) unless the passage, through some lacuna in the text, refers to the sharvānshāh) fought them near Bākūya and killed a large number of their warriors and expelled them from his country." It is possible that this is only another version of the events recorded in our §§15 and 38 under 423/1032.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mas'ūdi's report on the events at the time of 'Alī b. Haytham. See p. 152.

Rūs,<sup>1</sup> strengthened by the Alān, returned to al-Bāb in order to take revenge but at \*Karakh were beaten off by the "chief" Haytham b. Maymūn.

These episodes throw an entirely new light on the warlike and predatory activities of the ancient Rūs, who at that time must have been a mixed Scandinavian and Slav body.<sup>2</sup>

## §2. ADMINISTRATIVE, SOCIAL AND MILITARY ORGANISATION

### A. SHARVĀN

By origin the Yazīdids were Arabs of the Shaybānī tribe and belonged to the most distinguished class of generals and governors in the caliph's service. The first indications of isolation from Baghdad appeared about 245/859 when Muhammad b. Yazīd built Ganja<sup>3</sup> and from a governor became a local chief living on his estates (§5). Two years after, the death of Mutawakkil opened the door to further emancipation. Muhammad's successor became autonomous (*istabadda*, §§6 and 9), with the ancient Iranian title of sharvānshāh. The Iranicisation of the family must have proceeded continuously but a decisive stage in this direction was reached under Yazīd IV (381-418/991-1027). Suddenly the general pattern of the Yazīdid names was altered and the earlier "Khālids" and "Yazīds" gave way to bearers of such Iranian names as Anūshirvān, Minūchihr, Qubād, etc. As already suggested, the most likely explanation of this change must be a marriage link established on the spot, possibly with the family of the ancient rulers of Shābarān. The attraction of a Sasanian pedigree proved stronger than the recollections of the Shaybānī lineage.

In any case the family prestige of the rulers of Sharvan stood much higher than that of the Kurdish newcomers of Arrān,<sup>4</sup> or even that of the Hāshimids of al-Bāb whose rise from the ranks of the local aristocracy (see below, p. 122) was on the principle of *primus inter pares*.

As in all large Muslim families, feuds among brothers, uncles and nephews were a permanent blight on the Yazīdid house. The first great schism occurred under Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd III of Layzān, who annexed

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the companions of the 423/1032 invaders who had remained in the northern Caucasus?

<sup>2</sup> See my article in *Acta Or. Hung.* quoted above.

<sup>3</sup> As already mentioned (see above p. 58) there is a gap in our knowledge of events in Ganja (Arrān) between A.D. 859 and 955, and our source centres its attention on Sharvān.

<sup>4</sup> Except at the time of Abul-Asvār I and Faḍl I.

Sharvan in 305/917. Struggles in the family went on till the last period described in *T.-B.*

Many hints at the developed scheme of local administration are scattered in the correspondence of Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār (*circa* 500/1106)<sup>1</sup> but our new source hardly ever descends to levels lower than that of the *vazirs*.

The important role of these ministers appears from the fact that on one occasion (in 388/998) the ruler placed himself entirely under the guidance of two brothers, natives of Barda'a, without whose advice he took no action (§14). This confidence was rewarded by the loyal conduct of one of them during the revolt of 416/1025. The other pair of faithful servants were Musaddid and his son, of whom the former perished in the battle with the people of Shakki (383/992) and the latter was murdered while acting as lieutenant in al-Bāb (426/1035). As a contrast to these services, can be quoted the criminal activities of Ibn al-Marāghī who wished to supplant his masters, of whom he poisoned two, but failed at his third attempt (§§9, 10, 11). Another case of civil disobedience is the revolt of the lieutenant of Barda'a<sup>2</sup> who read the *khutba* in his own name in 378/988.

Under Sharvān, references to the "chiefs" (*ra'īs*) are few, though on one occasion we are told of a repression of the "chiefs" by the sharvanshah (year 457/1066). We shall discuss the problem of the "chiefs" in detail in the section on al-Bāb, where facts concerning these representatives of the population will be more telling. The relations between the rulers and the population were far from cloudless. The son of the sharvanshah who revolted in 416/1025 mobilised the local "rabble" (*aubāsh*), and during the events of 457/1066, to which we have just referred, the sharvanshah went to such lengths as to set some infidel neighbours on "the doctors of Islam, the chiefs and the notables" of his capital, and himself used most savage means of repression. Such complications were certainly an important factor in the sharvanshah's decision to transfer his residence to Mihyāriya in Masqaṭ (§24).

For one of the towns within the orbit of the sharvanshah's influence, namely Baylaqān, we have an unusually illuminating source of information. A local official of Kurdish origin, Mas'ūd ibn Nāmdār, employed (for some time at least) by the sharvanshah Farīburz b. Sallār, collected the documents drafted by himself about 505/1111.<sup>3</sup> Despite the obscurity

<sup>1</sup> See Minorsky and Cl. Cahen, 'Le recueil transcaucasien', in *Jour. As.*, 1949, pp. 93-142. Mas'ūd mentions 'amīds, *vazīrs*, ḥājibs, mustaufīs, mushrifīs, 'āmils, diḥ-khudās, nā'ibs, ṣadrs, qādis, faqīhs, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The identity of this Mūsā b. 'Alī is not clear: was he a member of the ruling family?

<sup>3</sup> See *Jour. As.*, 1949, pp. 93-142.

of many references, these papers give us a glimpse into the stormy life in a nearly autonomous provincial city. Apart from the disturbances caused by bands of Turkman adventurers, one can discern the rivalries of the holders of offices appointed now from Ganja, now from Sharvan, and now by the Seljuks; the divergent interests of the religious and national groups, such as the orthodox Muslims and the heretics (apparently the Ismā'īlis), the Christians and the Jews, and above all the continuous revolts of the populace ('*awāmm*') rising in arms against the powers that be. The situation in Baylaqān can be taken as a mirror of the general state of the country.

On the lower classes of Sharvan our source is almost silent. Most of them must have been of the rural category. Under 457/1064 *al-akara wal-muzārī'in* "cultivators (?) and sharecroppers" are mentioned in Masqaṭ. The position of the former is not clear; the latter represented a type of exploitation well known in the East.

On the question of land-tenure in Sharvan we have only some references to the class of lands called *ḍiyā'* (sing. *ḍay'a*) which were apparently estates held by the kings and princes. From the correspondence collected by Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār (*l.c.*, p. 127, and documents I and II) we know that towards 500/1106 there was still functioning in Transcaucasia (Sharvan?) a *ḍiwān al-ḍiyā'*, distinct from the *ḍiwān al-kharāj*, and that the author himself sought in Baghdad a confirmation of his titles to some lands. Curious as these hints are, they are insufficient for estimating the amount of actual control which the caliph still exercised over land-tenure in Transcaucasia, while even the caliph's diploma of investiture is not once referred to in the contemporary *Ta'rikh al-Bāb*.<sup>1</sup>

In our text we find only the names of the *ḍiyā'* connected with the members of the ruling houses. The *ḍiyā'* appear to be important personal demesnes, and the fortification of Mihyāriya (§24) is a curious example of the transformation of a *ḍay'a* into a bridgehead.

The names of the *ḍiyā'* which occur in the three chapters of the *T.-B.* are as follows.

The *Khālidiyāt* were the estates which the caliph Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) granted to Muhammad b. Khālīd when the latter withdrew from Armenia to Arrān (*circa* 245/859, see text §5). The position of these *ḍiyā'* is obscure, though it would be interesting to locate them in order to decide whether the estates were necessarily situated within the area of the grantees' governorships, or whether a territorial connection

<sup>1</sup> See on *ḍay'a* F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classical period*, Copenhagen, 1950, Index. It is a matter of some regret that this interesting thesis is abstract in character and that the study of the institutions is insufficiently connected with history.



between a governorship and the "estates" was not indispensable. Here are some facts referring to this matter.

(a) According to our text these estates were still "well-known" under that name, but in Transcaucasian toponymy the latter seems to be unknown.

(b) The name *Khālidiyāt* might suggest their connection with Muhammad's father Khālīd b. Yazīd (see text §2). According to Ya'qūbī, *History*, 580, 588, Khālīd on his appointment to Armenia received from Mu'taṣim some particular district (*nāhiya*) in Diyār-Rabī'a, and on his second appointment to Armenia, Wāthiq gave him again a *kūra* in the same province. The chief town of Diyār-Rabī'a was Mosul, and, if Khālidiyāt are to be looked for on the upper Euphrates (see below), there would be more likelihood in connecting them not with Diyār-Rabī'a but with Diyār-Bakr, see Le Strange, *The lands*, p. 115. It is true, however, that Ya'qūbī's reference to a "certain" *nāhiya*, or *kūra*, sounds somewhat vague. In the beginning of his career (towards 185/801) Khālīd acted as a governor of Mosul and Yāqūt, II, 390, definitely names a Khālidiya in the region of Mosul.

(c) Over a century later, the term *Khālidiyāt* occurs twice in the *History* of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, ed. Vasiliev and Kratchkovsky, Paris 1932, II, 372 and 421. In 365/976 Emperor Basil appointed Bardas Skleros governor of Baṭn-Hanzīṭ and *al-Khālidiyāt*. Presumably the two districts were conterminous, and we know that Hanzīṭ lay in the neighbourhood of Kharpert (Kharput), see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 90-2. Under 379/988 the same source mentions the two sons of the baṭrīq Buqrāt, ruler of the Khālidiyāt. Baron V. Rosen, *Imperator Vasily*, 1883, p. 88, has suggested the identity of the fief of this baṭrīq with the homonymous place which Muqaddasi, 150, mentions as a point connected by a road with Sinn-Nuhās, which latter lay two stages north-west (?) of Mūsh.<sup>1</sup>

All things told there still remains some likelihood that the Khālidiyāt estates were confirmed to Muhammad b. Khālīd in a region very remote from his new and hereditary governorship, possibly as a lure to attach him to the central government.

*Sūrmān* in Arrān;

*Irsī* and *Day'a-Muḥammad* (Muḥammadiya, Ḥumaydi?), both in Ṭabarsarān and outside the territory of Sharvan proper;

*Rizqiya* (or *Zarqiya*, cf. *Marzūqiya*, §9)—somewhere in the direction of al-Bāb, and perhaps connected with its supplies.

<sup>1</sup> E. Honigmann, 'Un itinéraire à travers le Pont', in *Mélanges F. Cumont*, 1936, 261-71, compared *Khālidiyāt* with the Byzantine province *Xaldia* (Trebizond), but see his *Ostgrenze*, 53, note 11, where he criticises this view.

*Miḥyāriya*, *Mūjakābād* and *Sāmsūya*—all three in Masqaṭ.

Early geographers (Istakhri, pp. 182-3) speak of the developed horticulture in Sharvan, of the cultivation of the mulberry<sup>1</sup> and of fishing in the Kur. Of the oil-wells of Baku Abū-Dulaf<sup>2</sup> says (c. A.D. 950) that the lease (*qabāla*) of the ordinary wells brought in 1,000 dirhams a day and that the daily revenue from the wells of "white naphtha" represented another 1,000 dirhams.<sup>3</sup> However, the revenue from the oil-wells and salterns of Baku was originally impounded for the support of the fighters for the faith in al-Bāb. The crops of several villages were affected to the same purpose by the sharvanshah Haytham b. Muhammad (§7). Later the rulers of Sharvan must have laid hands on these sources of revenue, for after 333/944 we hear (§9) that in a difficult moment the sharvanshah had to restore the revenue in question to al-Bāb.

Some idea of the general financial position of Sharvan can be derived from the following facts. We learn that Fariburz had a stud of 4,000 mares. The tribute which the sharvanshah accepted to pay to Marzubān b. Muhammad in 344/955 amounted to one million dirhams (as compared with two million dirhams imposed on the king of Armenia, Smbat), see I. Hauqal, 254.<sup>4</sup> In 456/1064 the ruler of Arrān Abul-Aswār raided the territory of Sharvan and exacted from Fariburz (twice?) 40,000 dinars (§19, and in the chapter on Arran §15). In 459/1067 the sharvanshah paid 6,000 dinars for the surrender of his uncle by the Turks. In the same year he agreed to pay a tribute of 30,000 dinars per year. Under Malik-shah, Fariburz b. Sallār accepted a yearly payment of 70,000 dinars (i.e. 1,400,000 dirhams?), but later through the negligence of the vazirs this sum gradually sank to 40,000 dinars (i.e. 800,000 dirhams?), see al-Bundārī, p. 140. According to Nasawī, 160, 175 (tr. 266, 289) the sum imposed on Sharvan by Malik-shah amounted to 100,000 dinars. In 622/1225 the khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-dīn, following in the steps of his predecessor, requested the sharvanshah Afrīdūn b. Fariburz II to pay 50,000 dinars. When Jalāl al-dīn returned to Arrān (in 623/1226?) Afrīdūn waited on him and offered him 500 horses. Despite the protests of his vazir, Jalāl al-dīn confirmed Afrīdūn in his dominions and reduced his payment (i.e. 50,000 dinars) by 20,000 dinars.

On the military organisation of Sharvan the information of the *T.-B.* is also inadequate. The position of Darband with its volunteers and military settlements was quite special (see below). In Arrān the Kurdish clansmen of the Shaddādids must have played a prominent

<sup>1</sup> For silkworms. The silk industry has been famous in Sharvan at all times.

<sup>2</sup> See Minorsky, *Abū Dulaf's travels in Iran*, Cairo 1955, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Barthold, *The place of the Caspian provinces*, p. 36, equates 1,000 dirhams with 250 roubles, i.e., £25 (the 1914 value).

<sup>4</sup> See *BSOAS*, 1953, XV/3, 528.

part among the troops. On the other hand, in Sharvan, as in the Georgian and Armenian principalities, mercenaries were largely used. When in 455/1063 Abul-Aswār of Arrān besieged the capital of Sharvan, fifty horsemen were killed "of Lakzian stalwarts and \*Diduwānian (?) noblemen". Apart from the regular forces (*askar*, cf. §26), we hear of the *naubatiya* levies who took monthly turns in the garrison service at Mihyāriya (§24).

The ghulāms, of whom we shall speak in more detail under Darband, probably acted as life-guards attached to the prince. On the occasion of a *vendetta*, carried out on behalf of the sharvanshah (in 459/1067), one of the participants in it is called *khādim* "servant", possibly because he was not incorporated in the corps of *ghulāms* who usually served on such occasions (see under Darband).

No general estimate of the military forces is found in our source and we can only place on record that in the joint expedition of the rulers of Sharvān and al-Bāb against Shandān (§§8 and 33) the number of Muslim prisoners was 10,000. In 382/992 in a battle in Qabala the vazir of Sharvān was killed and with him 400 horsemen from among "the nobles of the Sharvanian army (*a'yān 'askar Sharwān*)". In the chapter on Arrān it is reported that in 417/1026 the local ruler killed 10,000 of the invading Georgians and in 454/1062 the Alāns captured over 20,000 Arrānians. All these figures are only approximate, and the records of minor skirmishes inconclusive.

In the defence system of Arrān and Sharvān, whose best lands were situated in open plains along the Kur and its tributaries, fortifications were of great importance. In the chapter on Arrān we hear of a revolution which broke out in 441/1049 when a weak regent prepared to cede six frontier castles to the neighbours whom he hoped to appease by this plan. In Sharvan the central castle must have been Gulistān (§14, in §21: Julistān<sup>1</sup>). We cannot say whether the capital Yazīdiya possessed a citadel, but in 437/1045 the fear of the Ghuz Turks induced the sharvanshah Qubād to build a stone wall with iron gates round the town<sup>2</sup> and it is not quite clear whether in 455/1063 (§19, and Arrān, §15) the lord of Arran succeeded in taking Yazīdiya. Another place fortified by Farīburz was Mihyāriya in Masqaṭ (§24), where both a castle and a town-wall were erected.<sup>3</sup> Mihyāriya was intended as a spear-head against

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 75. In 893/1488 the sharvanshah Farrukh-Yasār threatened by Shaykh Ḥaydar Ṣafavi sent away the women and children from Shamakhī to Gulistān. The Gulistān where a Russo-Persian treaty was signed in 1813 is a different place in Qarabāgh.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Ganja (with a citadel?) was built in 245/859 and in 454/1062, following the Alān invasion, its suburb (*vabaḍ*) was surrounded by a wall.

<sup>3</sup> The strategic position of Masqaṭ, protected from the north by the mighty river Samūr, was realised even under the Sasanians, see below Mas'ūdī, §30, on the stone buildings of Qubād b. Firūz in Masqaṭ.

al-Bāb and was combined with the *tête-de-pont* of Qal'abād. The fortress with the strange name Qūylamiyān (?) was apparently a stronghold in the direction of Arrān, but in 455/1063 the Shaddādid Abul-Aswār stormed it.<sup>1</sup>

## B. DARBAND

The political and internal situation in al-Bāb was very peculiar and totally different from the conditions in Sharvān.

Al-Bāb had long been ruled by commanders appointed by the caliphs to fight the northern invaders, chiefly the Khazars. One of these governors was the founder of the Yazīdī dynasty of Sharvān. Already in 237/851 Mutawakkil had granted al-Bāb and its dependencies to Muhammad b. Khālid. The latter renounced the governorship of Azarbayjan and Armenia in order to concentrate on his special fief in Transcaucasia (towards 245/859). He must have died before 247/861 (§6), whereas according to our author the beginning of the Hāshimid rule in al-Bāb dates only from 255/869. Thus the Yazīdids could consider themselves as older claimants to Darband. This idea, inherent in their policy, created a perpetual threat to the security of the Hāshimids, as attested in the *T.-B.*

However, theoretically the Hāshimids (§31) could regard themselves as autonomous. Should our text be understood in the sense that Hāshim b. Surāqa got hold of al-Bāb by the "right of clientship (*bil-walāʾ?*)", he must have been installed by the caliph Muhtadī (255-6/869-70), though the latter had no effective means of controlling his representative, although he was descended from a "freedman of Banū-Sulaym", i.e. was of a more modest origin than the Yazīdids of Sharvan. The symbol of Hāshim's independence was the hereditary transmission of his power to his successors. Moreover, his great-grandfather had committed direct treason by bringing in the Khazars who caused formidable harm to the Muslims, and this episode shows that although the Hāshimids

<sup>1</sup> The number of the larger inhabited points of Sharvan hardly changed much till the nineteenth century. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shirvāni, *Bostān al-siyāḥat*, p. 324, counted in his native province seven towns, ten boroughs, eight fortresses and three harbours. (He does not give their names). Of considerable interest must be the diaries of Ottoman campaigns in Transcaucasia and the files of the periods of Ottoman occupation. I hear from Prof. B. Lewis that the following are still available in the Istanbul archives: for Ganja—files Nos. 699/736 (years *circa* 1003-12/1595-1603), 903/924 (year 1140/1727), 914/488 and 913/267 (year 1145/1732); for Nakhchevan—905/845 (year 1140/1727); for Tiflis—897/418 and 900/831 (year 1140/1727); and for Georgia—four defters unspecified. A detailed topographical and economical survey of the country was carried out by the Russians after the establishment of their rule in Transcaucasia.

were regarded as guardians of the northern march, by their family tradition they were strongly entangled in local intertribal politics. It seems, moreover, that even Hāshim owed his position to the support, or consent, of his peers and this circumstance made him depend on the "elders" (*uqalā*) and the "chiefs" whose advice he sought in public affairs. This status of a *primus inter pares* in the remote march (*thaghr*) of Muslim territories, surrounded by unruly Christian and heathen tribes, must be constantly borne in mind while following events in al-Bāb.

Among the categories of people who took part in various expeditions from al-Bāb, our source refers to "fighters for the faith" (*ghāzī*), volunteers (*muṭṭawīʿ*), "readers of the Qorʿān" (*qurrā*, §8) and "outsiders" (*ghurabā*). The amirs had also to collaborate with the warriors of "the Centres" (see year 423/1032) and make appeals to their neighbours, far and near (see, for example, year 456/1064).

The handling of all these heterogeneous elements demanded much tact on the part of the amirs who, in the hour of crisis, could be sure only of their *ghulāms*. The interpretation of this term cannot be settled by translating it as "slaves".<sup>1</sup> Some of them may have been slaves bought for money, or brought up in the prince's house, but the presence among them of the Rūs (see above p. 114), who seem to be connected with the adventurers of the same nationality whom the amir had "invited" to come to his aid, renders the question more complicated. The safest interpretation of the term would be "guards, or body-guards". The *ghulāms* were used singly for the most dangerous missions. A *ghulām*<sup>2</sup> of the amir Maymūn wounded the lord of Sharvan who had seized al-Bāb (373/983). Another *ghulām* of Maymūn assassinated the latter's rival brother (387/997). The *ghulāms* of the amir Maṣṣūr acted as murderers of his brother (446/1054).

The most formidable among the problems which the amirs had to tackle was that of the "chiefs" (*ruʿasā*) from whose ranks the dynasty itself had risen (§32).

In Muslim countries the title *raʿīs* is usually applied to representatives of the local population, chiefly belonging to some respected families. A *raʿīs* acted as an intermediary between the administration and the inhabitants, transmitting the decrees of the former and making representations on behalf of the latter.<sup>3</sup> We hear of the existence of such "chiefs" both in Arran and Sharvan. At least some of the "chiefs"

<sup>1</sup> In the course of its metamorphoses, the term *ghulām*, in the nineteenth century in Persia, became applied only to messengers of foreign diplomatic and consular agencies.

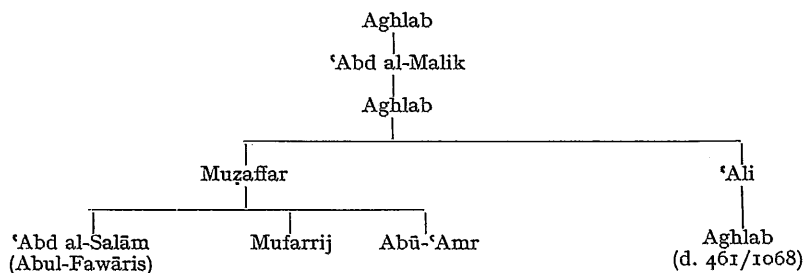
<sup>2</sup> Bearing a non-Muslim name.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 234.

must have been heads of guilds. In Ganja the *ra'īs* responsible for the invitation of the Shaddādids (in 360/970) was a silk-trader (*qazzāz*). In 416/1025 we hear of the opposition to the sharvanshah of the *sarrājiya* "saddlers".<sup>1</sup> A very versatile politician active both in al-Bāb and Arrān (441/1049) is referred to as the "chief of the tanners". By origin he was a *Bā'ī* (perhaps \**Bābī*?),<sup>2</sup> though he defended Karakh against invaders. We also hear of the Karakhī "chiefs" who sided with the rebel of al-Bāb, the chief Mufarrij (in 457/1065).

Whatever the position of the "chiefs" was elsewhere, in al-Bāb they enjoyed a special and more important position. Quite instructive is the praise which our source addresses to the memory of the chief 'Ali b. Ḥasan al-'Anaq (d. in 456/1064) "of whom the kings and the amirs were afraid".

We cannot yet say whether all the chiefs of al-Bāb belonged to the Banū-Sulaym tribe, and whether they were all descended from one common ancestor. The family links of 'Ali b. Ḥasan al-'Anaq are not clear and we hear only once of an Ibn Abī-Yaḥyā whose daughter bore a son to amir Manṣūr in 457/1065. In any case, in the first half of the eleventh century the Aghlabids stood in the centre of events.



'Abd al-Salām, with the *kunya* Abul-Fawāris, acted as regent during the infancy of amir Manṣūr and died in 434/1043. Mufarrij himself openly strove to seize power in Darband.

Some clue to the position of the chiefs can be found in the different versions of the *Darband-nāma*.

(1) (Ed. Kazem-bek, p. 109, MS. Dorn): when in 118/736 Hishām b. 'Abd al-Mālik appointed Asad b. Zāfir Sulamī to the governorship of

<sup>1</sup> In Sharvan the "chiefs" are expressly mentioned only as victims of the ruler's repression in 457/1065.

<sup>2</sup> A place called *Bābī* is mentioned among the Caucasian mints of the successors of the Hulagūids round 756-8. See Pakhomov, *Kratkīye soobshch. Inst. Mat. Kult.*, No. 66, Moscow 1956, pp. 47, 48. Cf. also *Bābī* as a name (*nisba*?) of a man in the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā*, p. 268.

Darband, he gave him 400 men from his own staff and also men from four Arab tribes (one of which was Salma, i.e. probably \**Banū-Sulaym*?). The caliph ordered that the keys of Darband should be handed over to Asad b. Zāfir, except those of the Ghazawāt gate (probably the Jihād gate of *T.-B.*) which would be in the possession of Aghlab. "Should the governor of Darband die, or prove to be a tyrant, Aghlab Sulaymī (\*Sulami) should be made governor until the arrival of an appropriate governor."

(2) (Kazem-bek, p. 135, MS. St. Petersburg): In 180/796 (Hārūn al-Rashid) appointed Ḥaṣṣ b. 'Omar ruler (*ḥākim*) of Darband, saying: "Fear God and enter (the mosque) to perform Friday prayers. Do nothing without counsel. All the affairs of Darband are in thy hands; shouldst thou commit treason, become remiss about raiding the infidel, or practice oppression, I have authorised the people of Darband to dismiss thee. I have appointed 'Abdul-Malik b. Aghlab to be a watcher (*nāzir*) over thee. I have appointed him commander of the army (*sar-lashkar*) and *darūgha* for he is our trusted man".<sup>1</sup>

(3) (Kazem-bek, p. 140, Dorn MS.): "In the year 430/1038 the ruler of Darband 'Abd al-Malik b. Maṣṣūr b. Maymūn died.<sup>2</sup> The *khalīfas*, *amīns* and *sar-lashkars* were children of Aḏhab Salma (read \**Aghlab al-Sulamī*)".<sup>3</sup>

These three quotations indicate that, in the view of the original source of the *Darband-nāma*, the descendants of \*Aghlab al-Sulami were hereditary assistants (*khalīfa*), commandants of the fortified town (*amīn*, later *darūgha*) and commandants of the troops (*sar-lashkar*). From the tone of the quotations we can gather that the author was attached to Aghlab's family, which he strove to exalt at some expense of the "sons of Jayyūn (Ḥayyūn?)", as he rather disrespectfully calls the amirs. As on the other hand, our *T.-B.* is a history of the amirs, and does not give the Aghlabids any other title except *ra'īs*, it may have toned down the hints at the special privileges of the Aghlabids, which in fact accounted for their position and claims in Darband.

This important fact throws an entirely new light on the institutions of al-Bāb which weakened the position of the amir and transformed him into a hereditary president of an aristocratic republic. As already stated, the struggle went on unabated between the citadel, from which the amir tried to rule the town, and the chiefs who did not want the amir

<sup>1</sup> The term *darūgha*, "commandant of the town, deputy governor" is of Mongol origin (thirteenth century).

<sup>2</sup> According to our §9, he died in 434/1043.

<sup>3</sup> Towards A.D. 1150, Gharnāṭī (ed. Ferrand, p. 85) clearly distinguished between the amir of Darband Sayf al-dīn Muhammad b. Khalīfa al-Sulami and his *isfahsalar* 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī-Bakr.

to isolate himself from them. In 366/976 the amir Maymūn was kept in the "government building<sup>1</sup> as a prisoner". In 446/1054 the chiefs installed their elect Manṣūr in the "government building" where he would be better controlled. In 447/1055 the amir Manṣūr, after his re-admission into the town was kept in subjection (*maghlūban*). In 457/1065, after Manṣūr was murdered, his young successor was placed under the tutorship of one of the "chiefs", etc.

To sum up, the town seems to have been controlled by the aristocracy, whereas the amirs exercised their power from the citadel. On numerous occasions the *T.-B.* speaks of a middle (transverse) wall which the amirs built apparently with the intention of annexing a part of the town to the citadel. Each time, however, the masters of the town succeeded in dismantling this wall.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the "chiefs", who formed the upper class of the local aristocracy and relied on their own contingents of armed retainers (*ghulāms*), as can be seen under the year 446, our source (*ibid.*) refers to a distinct group of nobles who were more closely connected with the amir. The chronicler calls them *a'yān min ahl al-thaḡhr* "the noblemen of the March" (year 456), or *a'yān al-ṣufūf*. The latter term has no other known parallels, but M. William Marçais draws my attention to Ṭabarī, III, 1718, line 16, where *ṣufūf* seems to designate rows of more modest habitations (near the Friday mosque in Samarrā).<sup>3</sup> His tentative interpretation of *a'yān al-ṣufūf* is "les plus nobles de la classe moyenne", or a kind of "bazaar nobility".<sup>4</sup> After all *ṣufūf* (صُفُوف), can be a mistake for *ṣunūf* (صُنُوف), cf. I. Rusta, 147, below, p. 168: "nobles of various ranks". Whatever the final interpretation, the fact remains that in the events of 456 these "nobles" were on the side of the amir, while the "chiefs" kept aloof from him. This suggests that their interests differed from those of the more privileged caste. The passage is important as

<sup>1</sup> Apparently in the lower town.

<sup>2</sup> Such a wall survived even in the nineteenth century. According to Spassky, "in 1824 General Yermolov, in view of municipal improvements, had pulled down the transverse wall which stretched near the square of the (Russian) cathedral and separated the upper part of the town from the lower part (Du-bāra) which at that time had almost no buildings".

<sup>3</sup> The text (under 255/869) refers to the search for treasures hidden away by the mother of the caliph al-Mu'tazz. The searching party arrived *ilā al-ṣufūf bi-haḍrat al-masjid al-jāmī* and entered a small but well-appointed (*dār saghīra ma'mūra naẓīfa*) house where the discovery was made. In his Glossary de Goeje translates *ṣufūf* as "forum, series tabernarum". The passage is translated in E. Herzfeld's excellent work *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, 1948, 252: "und ich ging in die Bazarreihen, *ṣufūf*, bei der grossen Moschee".

<sup>4</sup> The great Arabist W. Marçais died on 10 October 1956, *sit ei terra levis*.



giving some further insight into the complicated pattern of the local society.

The energetic amir Maṣṣūr b. 'Abd al-Malik (§40) sought support even among the more democratic elements, whom he succeeded in separating from the "chiefs", but the record of this achievement is followed by reports on how in June 1064 the chiefs encouraged an attack on the town by the Sarīr hordes, how in July they sent their *ghulāms* to raid the suburbs of al-Bāb and how in February 1065 they treacherously murdered the amir and mercilessly punished the townsmen who supported him. Towards the end of our period, and on the eve of the Turkish occupation, the influence of the chiefs in al-Bāb became paramount.

It must be fully borne in mind that al-Bāb was not only a stronghold situated on the frontier (*thaghr*, "limes") of the Islamic world but that it was the most important harbour of the Caspian which was protected by the town-walls protruding into the sea.<sup>1</sup> Local products (madder, saffron and linen tissues) played a rôle in the local commerce but the more important traffic was the trade in slaves "from the countries of Unbelief" (Iṣṭ., 184).<sup>2</sup> The *ghāzīs* in their less hallowed hours must have acted as man-hunters, and the aristocracy supported its position by profitable dealings in their booty. All the raw produce of the northern Caucasus (sheep, hides, etc.) also passed through Darband. Likewise, the trade in furs, carried down the Volga *via* the Khazar territory, had to use Darband as a relay point because navigation on the stormy Caspian naturally hugged the coast.

Trade must have been the source of the wealth of the aristocracy of Darband and of its paramount influence in politics. We shall conclude this paragraph by a translation of Iṣṭakhri's passage, p. 184, on the commercial activity of Darband<sup>3</sup>: "Bāb al-abwāb is a town by the sea. In its centre is an anchorage for ships. On both sides, this anchorage is separated from the sea by a wall and thus the entrance for the ships has been made narrow and difficult and at its mouth a chain has been hung.

<sup>1</sup> Remains of these constructions were found under the water by Prof. B. Apollov in 1950.

<sup>2</sup> A most interesting account of the various kinds of slaves is found in the *Qābūs-nāma*, ch. 23, ed. S. Nafīsī, p. 80-1, ed. R. Levy, p. 64-5. The author's enumeration of the tribes, accompanied by their specific characteristics, must be based on his observations not only in Gurgān but also in Transcaucasia, during his stay at the court of the Shaddādīd Abul-Aswār Shāvur. His list refers both to the contingents of slaves imported from Central Asia and Khwarazm, and those (Rūs, Slav, Alān and probably some Turks) brought *via* Darband.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Hauqal's version, p. 242, differs from Iṣṭakhri's only stylistically. See also *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, §36, 40, on Darband: "slaves are brought there of every kind of infidel living close to it".

The ships cannot sail out or put in without a special order. The said walls are made of stones, bricks and clay. It is the harbour of the Khazar sea (for) the Sarīr and other infidel countries. It is also a harbour for Jurjān, Ṭabaristān and Daylam.<sup>1</sup> From it linen textiles are exported. Of (all places) in Arran, Armenia and Azarbayjan linen textiles are found only here. It also has saffron and to it come slaves from other countries of Unbelief”.

<sup>1</sup> On navigation on the Caspian see also Mas'ūdi, II, 25 (see below p. 153). Recently the question has been studied by B. N. Zakhoder in *Sovietskoye Vostokovedeniye*, 1955, No. 3, 108-18, who stresses the rôle of Abasgūn, the harbour of Jurjān, in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian.

#### ADDENDA

*ad p. 109.* A new translation of Ibn Faḍlān, with a very detailed commentary, has been published by Prof. A. P. Kovalevsky, Kharkov, 1956.

*ad p. III.* On the third tribe of the Rūs see now a very careful study by Dr. I. Hrbek in *Archiv Orientalní*, 1957, No. 4, 628-52. However, the author's new identification of *Arthā/Arqā* with Arkona (the island of Rügen in the Baltic) also raises some objections.

## ANNEX I

### MÜNEJJIM-BASHĪ ON THE LATER SHARVANS SHAHS

*Translated from the Arabic*

(B739) SECTION II: On the later kings of Sharvan whose genealogy, according to their claim, goes back to Anūshirvān the Just, the Kistrā of the Persians.

They form two classes: of the first only names are known; of the second, some of the facts concerning the kings are known. We shall speak of them under two sub-sections.

**Subsection A:** the number of these kings is unknown; their capital was Sharvān, they first appeared in ? (*blank*), their end was in ? (*blank*), the duration of their reign ? (*blank*).

§48. The first of them is unknown. (The king) on whom some data are known is MINŪCHIHHR b. KASRĀN b. Kāvūs b. Shahriyār b. Garshāsf b. Afrīdūn b. Farāmarz b. Sālār (A. Sārlār) b. Yazīd (A. Mazyadn<sup>1</sup>) b. Mazyad b. Chūn (B. "then ibn-Chūn") b. Marzubān b. Hurmuz b. Anūshirvān the Just, i.e. the Kistrā of the Persians. This is how Ghaffārī in his *Jihān-ārā* has established his genealogy, but I think that this Anūshirvān is not the Anūshirvān Kistrā of the Persians, but a person surnamed Anūshirvān, one of the descendants of the earlier Shaybānī kings of Sharvān. Let this be considered.

§49. The said MINŪCHIHHR (No. 1) bore the title of *Khāqān* and the famous poet *Khāqānī* was surnamed after him and composed eloquent *qaṣīdas* about him. This Minūchihr ruled about 550/1155 and was succeeded by his son (No. 2) FARRUKHZĀD b. MINŪCHIHHR and then by (No. 3) GUSHTĀSF b. FARRUKHZĀD to whom the Gushtāsfī maliks of Sāliyān are related. Then followed his son (No. 4) FARĀMARZ b. GUSHTĀSF, then (No. 5) FARRUKHZĀD b. FARĀMARZ, then (No. 6) KAYQUBĀD b. FARRUKHZĀD, then (No. 7) KĀVŪS b. KAYQUBĀD, who died after a long reign *circa* 774/1372. Then for about ten years ruled his son (No. 8) HŪSHANG b. KĀVŪS who died about 784/1382. It was he who settled the differences (*dhāt al-bayn*) between Sultān-Husayn Jalāyir and his brother Sultan-Ahmad when the latter fled to Arrān for fear of ʿĀdil-āqā. Hūshang reconciled the two brothers and he was the last of the first series. After him ruled his cousin (son of his paternal uncle) Ibrāhīm b. Sultān-Muhammad b. Kayqubād. He was the first of the second series as will be explained.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly for Mazyad ibn. . . .

§50. **Subsection B** of Section II. The number of these kings ? (*blank*), their capital Sharvān. Their first appearance in 780/1378, their end in ? (*blank*), the duration of their rule ? (*blank*). This dynasty is called DARBANDĪ.

The first of them was SHAYKH-IBRĀHĪM b. Sultān-Muhammad b. Kayqubād (No. 6) b. Farrukhzād (No. 5) b. Gushtāsf (No. 3) b. Farrukhzād (No. 2) b. Minūchihr-khāqān (No. 1). The remainder of the genealogy has been quoted previously. He ruled after his paternal uncle (cousin?) Hūshang b. Kāvūs (No. 8). He and his father had been hiding in some village of Shakkī for fear of Kāvūs and Hūshang. His father died (**A 1061b**) while still in hiding and Shaykh-Ibrāhīm remained in concealment down to the death of Hūshang in 780/1378. At that date the people of Sharvān invited him to come and rule over them.

This is from Ghaffārī's *Jihān-ārā*. Some other historians say that Shaykh-Ibrāhīm, his father and his kinsmen (*ashā'iruhu*) used to live in a village of Shakkī, one of the districts of Sharvān, being engaged in agriculture. They claimed descent from Anushirvan the Just, the Kistrā of the Persians, to whom their genealogy goes back. It happened that the people of Sharvān grew disaffected of their king Kāvūs and agreed on the appointment (*taqlīd*) of Shaykh-Ibrāhīm. With the paraphernalia of sultanate, such as royal steeds and sumpter horses, they journeyed to Ibrāhīm and found him asleep beside his tilth. He had been ploughing and become weary and now was asleep beside his tilth. They pitched a pavilion over him and stood aloof like a royal suite without waking him, and when he awoke they greeted him and took the oath of allegiance to him as their king. Then they brought him to the town and put him on the throne (*takht*) and he went conquering countries and dispensing justice among his subjects, reconciling their hearts and behaving generously. His status increased and he became famous far and wide (**B 740**). (End of the quotation [which] resembles the stories of story-tellers!).

Shaykh-Ibrāhīm waited on amir Timūr when in 797/1394 the latter was moving to the Dasht (of Qipchaq) *via* Darband. He presented to him his offerings, nine pieces of every kind, as was the wont of the Mongol kings. But of slaves he offered only *eight*. When asked about the reason he replied in a pleasant way: "I am myself the ninth". This was well received by Timur, who was extravagant in tokens of kindness and generosity towards Shaykh-Ibrāhīm and added the neighbouring countries to the latter's kingdom. He also gave him letters-patent of covenant and security, and in them he bound his own children to grant security to Ibrahim's children. Shaykh-Ibrahim accompanied Timur on all his campaigns in Syria and Rum. When in 805/1402 on his

return from Rūm Timur led an expedition against the (infidel) Georgians and dealt them great blows, the Georgian kings sent a message to Shaykh-Ibrāhīm entreating him for mediation in view of their being neighbours. Shaykh-Ibrahim interceded for them and Timur accepted his intercession and gave them security after exacting a huge contribution.

In 815/1412 Qarā-Yūsuf, lord of Azarbayjan, marched on Shaykh Ibrāhīm who applied for help to the king of Georgia Alexander (son of) Bagrad (Bagrat), who came in person to his assistance. They fought Qara-Yūsuf but in a violent engagement were defeated by him. Shaykh-Ibrahim, Alexander, king of Georgia, and the latter's son were taken prisoner. Qara-Yūsuf killed Alexander and his son with tied hands (*ṣabran*), destroyed most of the villages of Sharvan and looted the countryside atrociously. He then went back to Azarbayjan taking Ibrahim with him in fetters. Ibrahim paid a huge ransom for himself and was liberated. He returned to his kingdom and strove to restore it and to put his affairs in order. He died in 821/1418 after a reign of forty years.

§51. His son SULTAN-KHALĪL succeeded him. In ? (*blank*) Iskandar b. Qara-Yūsuf marched on him with an army of Turkmans. Sultan-Khalīl evaded them and Iskandar overran the territories of Sharvan, devastated them as he wished, and caused the population as much harm as he could, without any hindrance. He reached Darband and returned to Azarbayjan with loot and captives. Then Sultan Khalīl returned and began to restore the country with justice and equity. In 828/1425 Sultan-Khalīl's brothers Kay-Qubād, Ishaq and Hāshim revolted against him. He appealed for help to Shāhrukh-mīrzā b. Timur, and with the latter's help and assistance, warded off the intrigues of his brothers after which his position remained unchallenged. Each time Shāhrukh came to Azarbayjan, Khalīl waited on him. In ? (*blank*) Shāhrukh gave him the daughter of Mīrzā Abū-Bakr, son of Mīrān-shāh (A 1062a) b. Timur. He became very strong by the help of Shāhrukh and the latter's sons, and his rank increased. His country prospered and his days grew long until he died in 867/1462 after a reign of forty-seven years. It was his army that was fought by Shaykh Junayd Safavī, who lost his life in a battle in 860/1456.

§52. After him ruled his son FARRUKH-YASĀR b. KHALĪL-ALLĀH who was a wise and just king. In his days, in 873/1468, Sultan Abū-Sa'īd came to winter in Qarābāgh, with the intention to fight Hasan-beg Bayundur. The sharvanshah helped him by sending victuals and supplies to his camp. Then Hasan-beg frightened him with his threats. Consequently, he stopped the supplies from reaching the sultan's camp where there occurred a great famine. And thus Hasan-beg

overpowered the sultan and there happened what happened. Hasan-beg spared the territories and population of Sharvan (B741) and bestowed on the sharvanshah some additional territories in his neighbourhood. In the days of Farrukh-yasār the importance of Shaykh-Ḥaydar b. Junayd Safavi increased and in 893/1488 he marched on Sharvan with 10,000 warriors consisting of his father's companions and *murīds*. The sharvanshah appealed for help to the ruler of the two Irāqs, Sultan-Ya'qūb b. Hasan-beg Bayundur, and he sent him an army under Sulaymān-beg \*Bīzhan (also called *Bijan*), and with them the sharvanshah went to fight Haydar. He came to grips with him, defeated him and killed him. He imprisoned his children and later sent them in fetters to Sultan-Ya'qūb, who imprisoned them, as will be explained. Farrukh-yasār continued to rule, until in the beginning of 906/1500 Shah Ismā'īl Safavi came to attack him with a large army consisting of heretics (*rāfiḍī*) of Gilan and Mazandarān. The sharvanshah fought them near Shamakhī but was defeated and died in the battle. Some say that he was taken prisoner and killed with his arms tied (*ṣabran*). Ismā'īl killed every Sharvanian whom he captured to avenge his father and his grandfather. Farrukh-yasār ruled *circa* thirty-eight years.

§53. He was succeeded by his son BAYRĀM-BEG who died a natural death (*ḥatfa anfihi*) in 907/1501 after having reigned a year. By that time Ismā'īl had occupied Azarbayjan and his position had grown powerful.

§54. Bayrām-beg was succeeded by his brother GHĀZĪ-BEG b. FARRUKH-YASĀR who ruled about six months when his son Sultan-Maḥmūd revolted against him and killed him treacherously in 908/1502.

§55. The rebellious son SULTAN-MAḤMŪD became king. He was tyrannical, arbitrary, false and bloodthirsty. He enjoyed his power only a number of days, when the people disobeyed him and sent for his uncle Shaykh-Ibrāhīm, known as SHAYKH-SHĀH, who was living in Gilan. On hearing of his coming, Sultan-Maḥmūd fled to Shah Ismā'īl, who was then ruler of Azarbayjan, and took asylum with him. Ismā'īl gave him a detachment of his army and for three months Maḥmūd besieged his uncle Shaykh-shah in the fortress of Gulistān. Shaykh-shah was hard pressed but God relieved him by delivering Sulṭān-Maḥmūd into the hands of a slave (*mamlūk*), Qarā-beg by name. Sulṭān Maḥmūd liked and loved Qarā-beg but Qarā-beg cut the throat of his master in his bed, and under cover of the night sent his head to Shaykh-shāh who rejoiced at it. Then he went out with the troops that were with him and carried out a night attack on the Qizil-bash whom he defeated. They all fled and he captured and killed many of them. After this, the power of Shaykh-Ibrāhīm, known as Shaykh-shāh b. Farrukh-yasār

became established and he sought peace with Shah Ismā'il whom he tried to please and on whom he waited in 927/1521. The latter treated him with great kindness (A 1062b) and sent him back to his dominions with honour. He ruled twenty-two years with justice and equity and died a natural death in 930/1524. He was a wise and just ruler, pious and kind to the learned men (*'ulamā*) whom he always had near him. He left seven sons.

§56. He was succeeded by his eldest son SULTĀN-KHALĪL b. SHAYKH-SHĀH, who by marrying a daughter<sup>1</sup> of Shah Ismā'il, secured the latter's support. None of his brothers could oppose him. His rule lasted twelve years and he died on Friday, 7 Jumādā I 942/4 November 1535,<sup>2</sup> leaving no son fit to be king.

§57. His successor was his nephew SHĀHRUKH b. SULTAN-FARRUKH b. Shaykh-shāh. By that time the Qizil-bash army had already established itself over Sharvan, and Shah Tahmāsp (B 742) b. Ismā'il sent an army under his brother ALQĀŞ-MĪRZĀ and the remaining part of Sharvan was occupied on Saturday 7 Rabī' I 945/Saturday 3 August 1538. Shāhrukh was captured and taken to Tahmāsp who imprisoned him, and in 946/1539 killed him. Tahmāsp gave Sharvan as a fief to his own brother ALQĀŞ-MĪRZĀ. It is also said that Tahmāsp's army besieged Shāhrukh in the fortress of Shamakhī<sup>3</sup> for seven months without success. Then Tahmasp himself advanced with a large army and he too besieged him for some time. Then by (assurances of) security and covenant, Tahmasp caused him to come down, but did not observe the covenant and, it may be said, betrayed him by first imprisoning Shāhrukh and then killing him on the date aforementioned.

§58. Then of the kings of Sharvan there appeared BURHĀN-'ALI-SULTAN b. Sultan-Khalīl b. Shaykh-shāh who with some troops attacked Sharvan in \*951/1544 and fought \*Alqāş (B. mis-spelt: *al-qāḍī*) but, time after time, was defeated by him. Then he took asylum with Sultan Sulaymān-khan of Rūm who assisted him with troops but, when he approached Sharvan, a report reached him of the vast numbers of Qizil-bash with \*Alqāş-mīrzā and he permitted the Rūm army to return to their homes, whereas he himself went to Daghestan (spelt: *Tāghistān*) and remained there until in 955/1548 Sultan Sulaymān-khan proceeded to Azarbayjan. Burhān-'Ali-Sultan joined him, and the Sultan sent him (forward) with some troops, and with their help he occupied Sharvan. He remained there as governor (*wālī*) two years and died about 958/1551.

<sup>1</sup> Parī-khān khānum.

<sup>2</sup> Which was a Wednesday.

<sup>3</sup> According to Khurshāh: in the fortress of Bīqurd.

§59. After his death the Qizil-bash occupied Sharvan and his son ABŪ-BAKR-MĪRZĀ fled to \*Daghestan. At the time of his father's death he was a child, and some of his father's companions took him to Daghestan where he remained some twenty years. Thence he went to the Cherkes country and thence in 978/1570 reached the Crimea. Daulat-girey Khan received him with utmost kindness, gave him his daughter in marriage and made a submission about him to the foot of the Ottoman throne. An allowance was fixed sufficient to support him and he remained in the Crimea till the time when Lālā Muṣṭafā-pasha left for Sharvan in 987/1579. Abū-Bakr-mirza accompanied him to Sharvan and after the conquest of those parts, the said vazir assigned (*aqṭa'a*) to him a great governorship (*eyālat*) in that region. He remained in it and we have not found any further information about him till the present moment.

### COMMENTARY

§48 and §49. In Section II, subsection A, devoted to the so-called "third (or Kasrānid)" race of sharvanshahs, one feels immediately the absence of such a trusted guide, as the *Ta'rikh al-Bāb* was in the earlier chapters.

Münajjim-bashī now quotes Ghaffārī's *Jahān-ārā* (completed in 972/1564) which is a meritorious work, though its author on reaching the period of the "Kasrānids" (*Br. Mus.*, Or. 141, f. 157a; *Camb. Browne*, G10 (13), f. 76a) is entirely at sea. With Afridūn b. Farāmarz (read: \**Farīburz*) b. \*Sālār b. Yazīd Ghaffārī catches up with the main line of the Yazīdid (Mazyadid) sharvanshahs, but "Chūn" (apparently for \**jayyūn*) seems to be an intruder from the chart of the rulers of al-Bāb (v.s. §31). That finally the tree goes up to Anushirvan-the-Just should not surprise us because even Mas'ūdī, II, 4, connected his contemporary Muhammad b. Yazīd,<sup>1</sup> with Bahrām Gūr adding that there was no controversy about his pedigree. The worst confusion appears in the list of the immediate ancestors of the prince called "Minūchīhr b. Kasrān b. Kāvūs b. Shahriyār b. Garshāsf b. Afridūn", and further identified (§50) with the patron of Khāqānī. Thus in the space of thirty to forty years between Minūchīhr II and Afridūn, four generations of kings, otherwise unknown, have been inserted. On numismatic evidence they should be deleted (see §48). Pakhomov suggests that Kasrān may be but another name (perhaps a posthumous title?) of *Afridūn*.

One fact is now certain, namely that there was *no* interruption between the earlier Yazīdids and the later "Kasrānids" (the third race), the only difference between them being the degree of their iranisation: for a long time the dynasty had been cut off from Arab territories and of necessity had been intermarrying with local families.

<sup>1</sup> He was only four generations removed from the well-known Khālid appointed by al-Wāthiq, but as he previously ruled in Layzān, Mas'ūdī may have confused him with the earlier *indigenous* Lā'izān-shāhs, who possibly held their appointments from the Sasanians.



The earlier works on the sharvanshahs of the third period<sup>1</sup> need now considerable overhauling, in the light of more recent numismatic (E. A. Pakhomov) and literary (Prof. Hādī Hasan) research. [See now a very detailed survey of historical events in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries in the south-eastern part of Transcaucasia and the adjacent countries in Prof. A. A. Ali-zadeh's book *Sotsialno-ekonomicheskaya i politicheskaya istoriya Azerbayjana XIII-XIV vekov*, Baku 1956, 421 pp.]

Dr. Pakhomov has described a large number of newly found coins. Though badly minted (copper), poorly preserved and lacking dates, they admit of a rough classification, according to the names of the caliphs and sultans quoted on them. A close re-examination of the Georgian Annals has also yielded some useful hints, for in the twelfth century Georgia exercised a strong influence on events in Sharvan.<sup>2</sup> In his painstaking study of the Sharvan poet Falakī<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hādī Hasan scrutinised the *divāns* of all the Sharvan poets and very carefully summed up the research of the Russian scholars; on the numismatic side he received help from the late Dr. R. Vasmer, keeper of the Hermitage collections.

As the results of Russian research are partly available both in Prof. Barthold's article *Shīrwān* in *E.I.* and in Prof. Hadi Hasan's work, we shall quote only the table of *approximate* dates of the sharvanshahs prepared by E. A. Pakhomov.

(1) Farīburz	from 467-85	to 487-511
(2) Minūchihr, son of (1)	" 487-511	" 487-511
(3) Afrīdūn ibn (1)	" 487-511	" c. 514
(4) Minūchihr II ibn (3)	" c. 514	" c. 544 <sup>4</sup>
(5) Akhsatān I ibn (4)	" c. 544	" 583-600
(6) Shāhanshāh ibn (4)	" c. 575	" 575-83
(7) Afrīdūn II ibn (5)	" 583-600	" 583-600
(8) Farīburz II ibn (7)	" 583-600	" 585-600
(9) Farrukhzād ibn (4)	" 583-600	" 600-622
(10) Garshāsp I ibn (9)	" 600-22	" 600-622
(11) Farīburz III ibn (10)	" 622	" 641-653 <sup>5</sup>
(12) Akhsatān II ibn (11)	" 641-53	" 654-665
(13) Farrukhzād II ibn (12)	" +663	" +665
(14) Garshāsp II (or Gushtāsp) ibn (12)	" 656-66	" 693

<sup>1</sup> Dorn, 1841, Khanikov, *Mélanges asiat.* III, 114-37, (1857), Salemann, *Chet-verostishiya Khakani* (1875), Zambaur, *Manuel*, 1927, pp. 182-3.

<sup>2</sup> See his works in Russian: *A short course of the history of Azarbayjan, with an excursus on the shirvanshahs of the eleventh-fourteenth centuries*, Baku 1923, pp. 25-48; 'Shirvanshah Shahanshah', in *Izv. Azerb. arkheolog. komiteta*, Baku 1925, pp. 69-70; review of Zambaur's *Manuel*, Baku 1928; 'Arab and Caspian-Iranian feudal lords of Azarbayjan in the eleventh-fourteenth century', in *In memoriam N. Y. Marr*, 1938, pp. 416-28.

<sup>3</sup> *Falakī-i Shīrwānī, his times, life and works*, RAS, 1929, with a number of important additions in *Islamic Culture*, 1950, April, pp. 77-107, and July, pp. 145-86.

<sup>4</sup> We now know that he was still alive in 555/1160 (H. Hasan).

<sup>5</sup> According to Nasawī, 175 (tr. 291-2), the ruler of Sharvan in 622/1225 was Afrīdūn, son of Farīburz.

then after a gap

(15) Kay-Qubād	" -746	" +749
(16) Kā'ūs ibn (15)	" 749-57	" c. 774
(17) Hūshang ibn Kā'ūs	" c. 774	" c. 784

Even this improved list is purely tentative. For example, we now know of Fariburz I (No. 1) that he succeeded his father in 455/1063. When, and whether, Afridūn occupied the throne is uncertain; he appears on the stage already in 458/1066 and he must have died in 514/1120 an old man.<sup>1</sup> The name of Shāhanshāh (No. 6) was read on fragments of coins only in 1925.

The halcyon days of these sharvanshahs were during the weakening of the power of their suzerains, the Seljuks of Iraq. At this time their court became the centre of Iranian culture and attracted such poets as Nizāmī, Khāqānī, the poet-astronomer Falakī, etc. Numerous architectural monuments of the period are still extant,<sup>2</sup> chiefly in Baku, and testify to the high standards of official prosperity.<sup>3</sup>

In the beginning of the twelfth century Sharvan attracted the attention of its expanding Georgian neighbours who on several occasions raided its territory. In 510/1116 (?) David the Restorer gave his daughter Tamar in marriage to Minūchihr II who soon ascended the throne, and Akhsatān<sup>4</sup> was the fruit of this union. After her husband's death Tamar returned to Georgia and became a nun. For a hundred years (down to about 1223) Sharvan remained under the shadow of the Georgian protectorate and the Georgian kings added *sharvansha* to their titles, and sporadically assumed this title down to about 1600 (Pakhomov).

Jalāl al-dīn Khwārazmshāh claimed for himself the rights of the Seljuk sultans in Sharvan, and re-imposed a contribution on the sharvanshah Afridūn b. Fariburz<sup>5</sup> but soon the Mongols conquered Transcaucasia, and Sharvan became the field on which the Hulagids of Tabriz often clashed with the Juchids of the Golden Horde. The dynasty seems to have maintained close relations with the Jalāyirs which may have led to later complications with the Qara-qoyunlu. According to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III, 83-4, it was in "Arrān and Mughān" that Sultan-Ahmad Jalāyir made his preparations for the overthrow of his brother Sultan-Husayn (in 784/1382). 'Adil-āqā, lord of Sultāniya, who was supporting

<sup>1</sup> According to the Georgian Chronicle, transl. Brosset, I, 364, king David raided Sharvan in May 1120. "In the same time the rulers ("commanders") of Sharvan and Darband clashed, Ap'ridun was killed and the Sharvanians cut to pieces, in November."

<sup>2</sup> See S. Dadashev and M. A. Huseynov, *Architecture of Azerbaijan* (in Russian), Moscow 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Despite the crisis of depreciated currency, see Pakhomov.

<sup>4</sup> The name corresponds to Georgian Aghsarthan and is of Osset origin. In a Madras MS. Prof. H. Hasan has recently discovered an interesting ode in which Falakī expresses condolences to Minūchihr and his Georgian wife Tamar on the death of the latter's brother, king Dimitri, apparently in 556/1160.

<sup>5</sup> He also, *ibid.*, 174 (tr. 290), found in Tiflis a certain orphan prince of Sharvan called Jalāl al-dīn who had been brought up as a Christian in order to be able to marry a daughter of queen Rusudan. Jalāl al-dīn had him circumcised and gave him Gushtasfi (on the lower Kur) as a fief.

other Jalāyir candidates, forced Ahmad to retreat to the north of the Araxes. Thence Ahmad proceeded to "Arrān and Mughān" and appealed for mediation to the "governor" (*hākīm*) Hūshang. The latter suggested a partition of the Jalāyir dominions, which plan was accepted but proved short-lived. Timur, on arriving in 787/1385, restored 'Ādil-aqa in Sultāniya, but in the next year put him to death in Tabriz, see *Ẓafar-nāma*, II, 390, 398. Of Hūshang's end nothing is known but very soon a side-line of the earlier sharvanshahs (the fourth race) came into prominence under Timur.

Rashīd al-dīn, *Mukātabāt*, ed. M. Shafī', 130, states that his son 'Alī was married to a daughter of sharvānshāh, king of Shābarān and Shamakhī, and a descendant of \*Farībuz. They had been kings for 2,000 years and "until now Shābarān and Darband is theirs".

§50. The rulers of the subsection *B.* are also linked directly with the main line of the Yazīdids. The corresponding part of Dorn's study, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwanschahe*, St. Petersburg 1841, pp. 536-662, has still some value. According to the quotation from Ghaffārī, Shaykh Ibrāhīm was a cousin (not *nephew*) of his predecessor Hūshang b. Kāvūs. The fact that the new series of rulers is called Darbandī might suggest that some Yazīdids had finally ousted the former family of Darband amirs.

Shaykh Ibrāhīm's attendance on Timur during the campaign against Toqtamish (797/1394) is confirmed in *Ẓafar-nāma*, I, 182-3. In 805/1402 Shaykh Ibrāhīm was sent to Georgia to seize all sources of revenue, but in 806/1403, with other amirs, he interceded on behalf of king Giorgi although the latter was mulcted heavily, *ibid.*, II, 521, 542.

The Georgian king to whom Shaykh-Ibrāhīm appealed for help, and who perished as a victim of his good-neighbourly duties, was Constantine. His son Alexander ascended the throne after his death, see *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, ed. M. Shafī', I, 242 (under 815/1412, in fact in 1411).

§51. According to Dorn, *l.c.*, p. 578, Sultan Khalīl ruled in 820-67/1417-62. He and his brother Minūchīhr are praised in *Matla'*, I, 431 (year 824/1421). On his marriage with the daughter of Abū-Bakr (a widow of Qarā-Yūsuf) see *ibid.*, I, 437 (824/1421).

According to the *Lubb al-tawārikh*, Br. Mus. Or. 140, f. 62a, Iskandar invaded Sharvan twice—in 831/1427-8 and 837/1433-4.<sup>1</sup> In 836/1432 Iskandar's son Yār 'Alī took refuge with Khalīl, see *Matla'*, II, 644; this seems to have provoked Iskandar's raid of which Khalīl complained to Shāhrukh with the result that the latter intervened in 838/1434. The Armenian historian Thomas of Metsoph explains that Khalīl sent Yār 'Alī to Shāhrukh; this provoked the invasion of Iskandar, who (accompanied by his namesake *Iṣṣan* Iskandar) penetrated beyond Darband, see Nève, *Exposé des guerres*, 1860, p. 161.

On the raid and death of the Safavid Shāh-Junayd in 864/1460 see Iskandar-munshi, *Ālam-ārā*, p. 14. A more complete account is found in *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, MS. Istanbul, Fātiḥ 4431, ff. 133a-157b. Cf. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaate*, 1936, p. 48. See now Minorsky, *Persia in 1478-90*, 1957, p. 71.

<sup>1</sup> Hardly three times in 831, 837 and 838, as Dorn thought.

§52. According to Dorn, *l.c.*, 582, he ruled in 867-906/1462-1500. In his days the friendship with the Aq-qoyunlu was consolidated, whereas the Safavids dreamt of taking revenge for the death of Junayd. The *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, MS. Fatih, 4431, *l.c.*, f. 152b, tones down the role of Farrukh-Yasār by the side of the Aq-qoyunlu generals. Cf. Hinz., *l.c.*, 83-8.

§55. According to Dorn Sultan-Mahmūd began to rule in 908/1502.

§56. Khurshāh b. Qubād (known as *elchi-yi Nizām-shāh*) has some interesting facts about the time from Farrukh-yasār down to the conquest of Sharvan by Shāh-Tahmāsp, see Schefer, *Chrest. persane*, 1885, II, 56-64, but he gives the years of Khalīl II's reign as 918-43/1512-36, which cannot be correct.

§57. According to Khurshāh, a pretender, Qalandar-beg, succeeded in occupying Shamakhi, with the connivance of Parī-khān khānum, widow of Khalīl II, before Shahrukh b. Muẓaffar-mīrzā b. Shaykh-shāh expelled him. Parī-khān went to join her brother Shāh-Tahmāsp in Tabriz and that was the cause of (or pretext for) the occupation of Sharvan by the Safavids. The fortress in which Shahrukh was taken was Bīqurd (now *Bighir*, or *Bughur*, at the source of the Gök-chay).

§59. The history of the Persian governors of Sharvan (1538-1820) forms the subject of the second part of Dorn's study published in 1841 in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*. For the social history of Sharvan in the sixteenth-nineteenth centuries see now the important and very detailed work by I. P. Petrushevsky, *Ocherki po istorii feodalnikh otnosheniy Azerbayjana i Armenii*, Leningrad 1949.

## ANNEX II

### POSTSCRIPT ON DARBAND

The history of the princes of Darband does not come to an end in 468/1075. After the death of Nizām al-mulk and Malik-shāh, struggles began among the local dynasties of the Seljuks. Similarly to the sharvanshahs, who gradually re-emerged from a period of obscurity, we hear also of the amirs of al-Bāb.

The traveller Abū-Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāti, who visited al-Bāb some time between 524-45/1130-50 quotes the name of the local amir Sayf al-din Muhammad b. Khalifa al-Sulami.<sup>1</sup> The *nisba* is characteristic and suggests that this Muhammad was a continuator of the dynasty of the Sulamī Hāshimids described in the *Ta'rikh al-Bāb*, or, perhaps, a descendant of one of the "chiefs".

Still more unexpected is the mention of the malik of Darband Amīr Abul-Muẓaffar in *Ta'rikh Mayyāfāriqin* (Br. Mus., Or. 5803, f. 64a). The author met him in the year 549/1154, when he accompanied the Georgian king Dimitri on the latter's inspection tour of the frontier region of Daghestan. The author adds that Abul-Muẓaffar was married to the daughter of king Dimitri and that he came to greet his father-in-law and received him with all due respect. This is another gem of Ibn al-Azraq's valuable and still unpublished history.<sup>2</sup>

The existence of the dynasty is supported by the evidence of the coins described in an important article by Prof. E. A. Pakhomov, 'On the principality of Darband' (in Russian), Baku 1930. In it the coins of the following princes are referred to:

(a) *Al-malik al-'ādil Muẓaffar b. Muhammad b. Khalifa*, whose name is accompanied by the names of the caliphs al-Muqtafi (530-55/1136-60) and al-Mustanjid (555-66/1160-70), and whose coins bear the dates 555-9/1160-64. This Muẓaffar (Ibn al-Azraq's *Abul-Muẓaffar*) is surely the son of the amir mentioned in al-Gharnāti.

(b) *Bek-Bars b. Muẓaffar*, with the names of the caliphs Mustadī (566-75/1170-80) and Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225).

(c) *'Abd al-Malik b. Bek-Bars*, with the name of the caliph Nāṣir.

Only Muẓaffar's coins mention the Seljuk overlord (*al-sulṭān al-mu'azzam*); there is no such reference on those of Bek-bars and 'Abd

<sup>1</sup> See ed. Ferrand, *Jour. As.*, 1925, No. 1, p. 85. The formula *raḥima-hu 'llāhu* after his name, shows that he was already dead.

<sup>2</sup> The full passage is quoted in Annex V, see below.

al-Malik. Of the names of the princes, *Muẓaffar* reminds one of the *banū Muẓaffar*, as our source calls the family of the "chief" Mufarrij. Similarly the name *Khālifa* may be an echo of the office reserved for the family of the "chiefs" (see *Darband-nāma*, quoted above p. 125). Bek-Bars ("prince-Tiger") reflects the usual Turkicisation of the names under the influence of the overlords (as, for instance, in the Kurdish dynasty of Marāgha, see *E.I.*). On the other hand, 'Abd al-Malik seems to be a throw-back to the Hāshimids among whom we know three princes of this name.

Persian poets, such as Mujir-i Baylaqānī, Khāqānī and Nizāmī referred to these princes and dedicated *qaṣīdas* to them.<sup>1</sup> One of Khāqānī's odes (*Divān*, Tehran 1316, pp. 187-95) is inscribed to *Sayf al-dīn Arslān Muẓaffar-i Muhammad dārā-yi Darband* and definitely refers to the prince quoted above under (a). The ode may have some interpolations from a separate ode dedicated to Sultan Muḥammad (b. Maḥmūd?) who ruled in 548-554/1153-9, but in the parts which are unmistakably addressed to the ruler of Darband (*sardār*, *sālār*, *shāh*, *shāhinshāh*) the poet says: "o Shah, thou art of Arab origin by thy nature and birth". The poet has definitely in view a descendant of the Banū-Sulaym who were the dominant tribe in al-Bāb. According to one allusion, the ruler was twenty years old at that time. The ode was written in the year following Khāqānī's first pilgrimage to Mekka, which is supposed to have taken place about 552/1157 (?). In another *qaṣīda* (one of the very rare odes written by Khāqānī in *Arabic*) the author says that, having a grievance against Sharvan, he had turned his glance towards the March (*thaghr*) of Happiness.<sup>2</sup>

During the period of these rulers in Darband, Sharvan had established close matrimonial ties with the Christian Georgians, and the Georgian kings had several times supported Sharvan in its struggle with al-Bāb (Darband).<sup>3</sup> Some hints at these campaigns are found in the Georgian Chronicle. The best known incursion from Darband must have occurred under Bek-bars (some time about 569/1173), and in repelling it the future Byzantine emperor Andronicus—then a guest of the Georgian king Giorgi III—took part. Khāqānī dedicated one ode to Andronicus and in another ode described the defeat of the Darband troops which included Alāns, Rūs and Khazars. After what we have learnt from the *Tarīkh al-Bāb* on the presence of the Rūs in al-Bāb under 377/987 and on the arrival of the remnants of the Khazars in 456/1064, we can much

<sup>1</sup> See Badī' al-Zamān, *Sokhanvarān*, II/1, pp. 261, 342.

<sup>2</sup> See Minorsky, *Khāqānī and Andronicus Comnenus*, *BSOAS*, 1945, XI/3, p. 560.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Azraq, see Annex V, confirms the friendly relations between king Dimitri and the amīr Muẓaffar of Darband, but the fact remains that the Georgian king with his troops was able to enter freely the territory of al-Bāb.

better assess the meaning of Khaqani's hints<sup>1</sup> and the terms of the Georgian Chronicle, transl. Brosset I, 397, which speaks of the invasion of the "Khazars of Darband" (*Darubandell'a Xazart'a*).

(d) As Prof. Pakhomov has remarked, at the time of the Mongol invasion the lord of Darband was a Rashid, see I. Athir, XII, 264 (year 619/1222). However, in the same paragraph he is given the title of *sharvanshah*. This can be connected with the testimony of Yāqūt who lived at the same time. In his notice on Shamākhi (III, 317) he says: "this is the chief place (*qasaba*) of Sharvān in the region of Arrān. It is regarded as a district (*amal*) of Bāb al-abwāb and its lord, the sharvān-shāh, is the brother of the lord of Darband".

(e) About 624/1227 an infant prince was the titular holder of Darband, but the *de facto* governor was his atabek al-Asad, see Nasawī, p. 174 (tr. 289). Asad was honoured by Jalāl al-dīn, then seized by the latter's men, but escaped and succeeded in defending Darband.<sup>2</sup>

(f) When in 1466 the Russian merchant Afanasii Nikitin was travelling southwards, one of the Russian ships was wrecked near Tarkhi (Tarqu) and the men were captured by the Kaytaks (Qaytaq). The remaining Russians, having arrived in Darband, brought a complaint before Bulat-beg whose residence was "on the hill" (in the citadel). This ruler sent a courier to the Shirvanshah, who apparently was his master. The latter (Farrukh-Yasār) wrote to the ruler of Kaytak, called Alil (Khalil?)-beg, who was his brother-in-law, declaring that the stolen goods were destined for him. The request was honoured by Alil-beg who directed the Russians to Darband. See the new edition of A. Nikitin's *Journey beyond three seas*, Moscow 1948, pp. 10-11.

<sup>1</sup> For the odes of Khāqānī referring to Andronicus and the wars against the northern invaders see his *Divān*, ed. Tehran 1316/1937, on pp. 19-25, 272-76, 782. Hints at Andronicus and possibly his wife (*zanī rūmī*) have been found by O. L. Vilchevsky on p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> For the later history of Darband see Barthold, *Derbend*, in *E.I.* At the time of Shāhrukh in 824/1421 the governor (*hākīm*) of Bāb al-abwāb was an amir Isfandi-yār Darbandi, who is mentioned separately from Khalil of Sharvān, see *Malla' al-sa'dayn*, I, 435-6).

## ANNEX III

### MAS'ŪDĪ ON THE CAUCASUS

In the *Murūj al-dhahab*, chapter XVII, we have a remarkable systematic description of the Caucasian tribes which enables us to fit some casual references of the *Tarīkh al-Bāb* into a general picture. Our text was written some 150 years after Mas'ūdī<sup>1</sup> but retrospectively it also helps us to elucidate a number of obscure passages in the *Murūj*. The story of the unification of Sharvān (despite some discrepancies in personal names) is practically identical in both sources, and we can now correct some of the mistakes which Mas'ūdī makes in personal names. The fact that Mas'ūdī seems to be uncertain about the name of the ruler of Layzān (of the Arab Shaybanī tribe), etc., makes one wonder whether the geographer actually visited Transcaucasia (and especially Sharvān) but there is no doubt about the excellence of his sources.<sup>2</sup> A new translation of Mas'ūdī's text, concentrating on technical points, will form a useful complement to our work on the *Tarīkh al-Bāb*.

I have used both Barbier de Meynard's edition (Paris 1863) and the Būlāq edition of 1283/1867, I, 85-100. The latter follows the Paris edition but leaves out a number of passages and mis-spells many personal names; it scores only in conjectural improvement of some Arabic words.

The Paris edition was a considerable achievement for its time, but nearly ninety years have elapsed since its publication and this is felt in the interpretation of the original. In some places the translation is somewhat loose and I have preferred a more literal rendering of the passages. Mas'ūdī's presentation of his material is involved. He constantly drops his subject to take it up again after a lengthy dissertation on some problem which he met on his way. Thus he at least four times returns to Sharvān and al-Bāb (§§1-2, 10, 21, 29, 30). I have divided the text into paragraphs which will be helpful for references' sake and I have omitted Mas'ūdī's digressions on matters extraneous to the

<sup>1</sup> As stated at many places of the *Murūj*, this work was composed in 332/943. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 96, admits that some parts of the *Murūj* were revised in 336/947 (see codex Italinsky A). According to Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 144, and in *E.I.*, the *Murūj* was completed in Jumādā I/Nov. 947, and its revision took place in 345/956. (I was unable to ascertain the source on which the statement on the 345 revision is based).

<sup>2</sup> Mas'ūdī, I, 273, refers to the witness of the merchants "who penetrated into the lands of the Khazar" and the people who "sailed on the \*Maeotis and \*Pontos seas to the country of the Rūs and Burghar". On his own sailings on the Caspian see below p. 152, note 2.



Caucasus. The chief improvements have been in geographical names, such as \*Atil (for Āmol), \*Khursān-shāh and Vardān-shāh (for Khorāsān-shāh and Zādān-shāh), etc. Full advantage has been taken of the important commentary of Marquart on many passages of ch. XVII which he translated piecemeal in his *Streifzüge*.

### MURŪJ al-DHAHAB (*chapter XVII*)

*Account of Mt. Qabkh, with a record of various nations, such as the Alān, Khazar, various Turks and \*Burghars, and a record of al-Bāb wal-Abwāb and the kings and nations surrounding them.*

§1. Mas'ūdī says: Mt. QABKH (Caucasus) is a considerable mountain covering a huge area. It contains many kingdoms and nations (p. 2). There are seventy-two nations in it, and each of them has a king and a language different from that of the others. This mountain is full of ramifications (*shi'āb*) and valleys. The town al-Bāb wal-Abwāb<sup>1</sup> stands on one of its branches (*shi'āb*).<sup>2</sup> It was built by Kisrā Anūshirvān between the mountain and the Khazar sea. He built the wall from the sea, into which it protrudes for a *mīl*;<sup>3</sup> then it stretches along Mt. Qabkh following its peaks, depressions and valleys for a distance of forty farsakhs before it reaches the fortress called \*Ṭabarsarān.<sup>4</sup> At every three *mīls*' distance, or more or less, according to (the importance of) the road for which the gate serves, he built an iron gate in the wall. Inside the wall he settled a tribe at each gate to guard it and the adjoining part of the wall, all this with a view to ward off the harm of the nations adjacent (p. 3) to this mountain, namely the Khazars, the Alāns, various Turks, the Sarīrians and other infidels.

The extent of Mt. Qabkh, in height (?), length and width is two months (of travel) or even more. Around it live nations whom only the Creator might count. One of its branches (*shi'āb*), as we have said, is on the Khazar sea near al-Bāb. The other branch is that leading to the Māyṭas

<sup>1</sup> This term (see above p. 86) is somewhat awkward as applied to the town of Darband. The alternative Arabic form, *Bāb al-Abwāb* "the Gate of the Gates", would be more suitable.

<sup>2</sup> *Shi'āb* is a plural both of *shī'b* "mountain valley" and of *shu'ba* "a branch". The latter suits better in our case.

<sup>3</sup> 3 *mīls* = 1 farsakh = 12,000 *zirā'* (cubits).

<sup>4</sup> Ṭabaristān in the text is an obvious misunderstanding. The substitution of Ṭabaristān for \*Ṭabarsarān (see above p. 91) is a common mistake, but the distance from Darband even up to the source of the Rūbās (the river of Ṭabarsarān) is only 65 kms. = 9-13 farsakhs. On the wall see above p. 86. If Ṭabaristān is a *lapsus* for Dar-i Alān (Darial) the distance to it from Darband, even as the crow flies, is about 360 kms. = some 50-70 farsakhs.

sea (Maeotis, Azov sea), into which the straits of Constantinople flow. Trebizond (*Trabzunda*) which stands by this sea is a town on its coast holding several markets in the year, which are visited for trade by many nations, such as the Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, as well as by the Kashak (Kasak? Cherkes).

When Anushirvan built the town known as al-BĀB with its wall protruding into the sea, and extending over land and mountains (p. 4), he settled there various nations and kings for whom he fixed ranks and special titles and defined their frontiers, on the pattern of what Ardashīr b. Bābak had done with regard to the kings of Khorasan.<sup>1</sup> Among the kings whom Anushirvan established in the region bordering on the Islamic territories in the region of Barda'a was the king called Sharvān whose kingdom is called after his name, namely Sharvān-shāh. Every king ruling here is called SHARVĀN.<sup>2</sup>

Mas'ūdī says: his kingdom nowadays, in the year 332/943, stretches for a month's distance<sup>3</sup> for he has conquered places for which Anūshirvān had not given him a title (*wasam*), yet he has annexed them to his kingdom. The king at the present time (and God alone is omniscient)<sup>4</sup> is a Muslim called Muhammad b. Yazīd, who is a descendant of Bahrām Gūr and there is no doubt about his genealogy.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the king of al-Sarīr is a descendant of Bahrām Gūr (p. 5). Thus too the present lord of Khorāsān<sup>6</sup> is a descendant of Ismā'īl b. Ahmad, and Ismā'īl was issued from Bahrām Gūr, without any gainsay, as we have stated in our section concerning genealogies.

Muhammad b. Yazīd (of) Sharvān captured the town of al-Bāb after the death of his son-in-law 'Abdullāh b. Hishām<sup>7</sup> who was (a descendant) of a helper (*ansār*) of the Prophet and ruled over al-Bāb.

These parts were settled (by Arabs?) from the days when Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik and other early leaders of Islam penetrated into them.

Neighbouring on the kingdom of Sharvān is another kingdom in the mountain of Qabkh, which is called \*LĀYZĀN (spelt: *Lāyrān*) and its

<sup>1</sup> See Ibn-Khurdādhbih, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, Sharvān is the country, and sharvān-shāh its king. The same mistake occurs in I. Hāuqal, 234.

<sup>3</sup> This is a great exaggeration.

<sup>4</sup> This formula suggests that on this point Mas'ūdī was writing from hearsay.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that the sharvanshahs (or more exactly the branch of Layzān) claimed a gorgeous pedigree going up to Bahrām Gūr, can be explained by some marriage link which, even at that early date, they might have established with the family of some local "shah" installed by Anushirvan on the frontier of Daghestan, see above p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Nuh I b. Naṣr. On the spurious genealogy see Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār*, p. 39 (tr. p. 48).

<sup>7</sup> Read: 'Abd al-Malik b. Hāshim.

king is called \*Lāyzān-shāh. In our days the king of Sharvān has occupied it, as he also did with another kingdom which is called Mūqāniya.<sup>1</sup>

§2. And the bulwark (*mu'awwal*) of the kingdom of Sharvān is the kingdom of the LAKZ. This innumerable nation lives in the upper part of the mountains (p. 6) and among it there are infidels not obeying the king of Sharvān. They are called pagan Dūdāniya (\**Didwāniya*, i.e. the Dido) and they have not submitted to any king. There are curious reports concerning their nuptial and social customs.<sup>2</sup>

This mountain has valleys, gorges (*shi'āb*) and defiles in which live tribes not knowing one another, in view of the arduous nature of the mountains rising to the sky, their inaccessibility, their abundance in woods and thickets, their torrents rushing in cascades from above and the enormous rocks and boulders.

The said man called Sharvān(-shāh) seized many principalities in these mountains which Kisrā Anūshirvān assigned to other princes whom he established in these parts. Muhammad b. Yazīd annexed them to his kingdom, such as Kh.rāsān-shāh (read: \**Khursān-shāh*) and Zādān-shāh (\**Varḏān-shāh*?). We shall later speak (see §27) of how Muhammad usurped the kingdom of Sharvān (and) other kingdoms, for earlier he, and his father before him, ruled only over \*Lāyzān (p. 7).

§3. Next to Sharvān in the mountains of Qabkh lies the kingdom of \*ṬABARSARĀN<sup>3</sup> ("those with hatchet-heads"). Its present ruler is a Muslim, a nephew (sister's son) of 'Abd al-Malik who was amir of al-Bāb. Ṭabarsarān is the nearest kingdom to al-Bāb.

§4. The people of al-Bāb suffer much harm from the kingdom of \*KHAYDĀQ (spelt: *Jyḏān*) which is one of the (territories under) the

<sup>1</sup> It would be tempting to see in this reference a hint at the early penetration of the sharvanshahs into the region south of the Kur and the Araxes (see above p. 76) but Mas'ūdī (see below §28) definitely warns against the confusion of the two Mūqāniyas. As according to Iṣṭakhri, 193, \*Lāyzān was conterminous with Sharvān, Mūqāniya and Qabala (\**Anbasiya*, i.e. the principality of 'Anbasa), and Mas'ūdī, 68, confirms that Qabala marched with Mūqān, one should assume that this Mūqān stretched north of the Kur along the lower course of the rivers Gardamān, Gökchay and Tūriyān and was also different from the Georgian Movakan (between the Kur and the Alazan estuary). Under 22/643 Ṭabari I, 2666, speaks of the guarantees offered by Bukayr to "Mūqān belonging to Mt. al-Qabkh".

<sup>2</sup> Here *Lakz* covers the peoples of the southern Daghestan. On the paganism of the Dido see Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, I, 473, and Prince Vakhush't's *Geography*, see Russian trans., p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Spelt: *Ṭabaristān*.

KHAZAR king.<sup>1</sup> The latter's capital Samandar (see above) was a town lying at eight days' distance from al-Bāb. It is still occupied by the Khazar population; but since in the early days of Islam it was conquered by Sulaymān (read: *Salmān*) b. Rabī'a al-Bāhili, the capital (*mulk*) was transferred from it to the town of Ātil<sup>2</sup> (near Astrakhan), situated at seven days' distance from it.

Ātil, where the Khazar king resides nowadays consists of three parts divided by a huge river (the Volga) which comes from the upper parts of the Turkish lands. One branch of it branches off in the direction of the Burghaz (\*Burghar, Volga Bulgars) country and flows into the Māyṭas (Maeotis) (p. 8). The said capital is situated on both banks. In the middle of the river lies an island where the government residence (*dār al-mulk*) stands. The king's<sup>3</sup> castle stands at one side of this island and a bridge of boats connects the latter with one of the banks. The inhabitants of this capital are Muslims, Christians, Jews and pagans. The Jews are: the king, his *entourage* and the Khazars of his tribe (*jins*). The king accepted Judaism during the caliphate of Rashīd (170-98/786-814). A number of Jews joined him from other Muslim countries and from the Byzantine empire. This was because the emperor, who in our time, i.e. 332/943, is called Armanūs (Romanus), converted the Jews of his country to Christianity by force . . . (p. 9) and a large number of the Jews fled from Rūm to the Khazar country . . . This is not the place for giving a report of the adoption of Judaism by the Khazar king for we have spoken of it in our earlier works.

The pagans in his kingdom are of various races and among them are the Ṣaḡālība (Slavs) and the Rūs who live on one side of this town (Ātil). They burn their dead together with their horses (literally: "animals"), their implements and ornaments. When a man dies, his wife is burnt alive with him, but if the woman dies, the husband is not burnt. If someone dies unmarried, he is married posthumously and women ardently wish to be burnt (thinking) that their souls will enter paradise jointly with the souls of the (deceased) men. This is also done by the Indians but with them it is done only when the wife consents to it (p. 10). Muslims predominate in this town (or country?) because they form the royal troops. They are known in their town as al-Lārisiya

<sup>1</sup> The chapter on the Khazar has been recently translated by D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 1954, pp. 204-15.

<sup>2</sup> Spelt: *Āmul*. Salmān al-Bāhili was a contemporary of the caliph Othmān, see Balādhurī, 198, 203-4.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the khaqan's castle, see below p. 148.

(Arsiya, Arisia, etc.)<sup>1</sup> and they are immigrants from the environs of Khwārazm. In olden times after the rise of Islam there occurred in their country a war and a plague and they migrated to the Khazar king. They are valiant and courageous people and are the mainstay (*mu'awwal*) of this king in his wars. They remained in his dominions (*balad*) on certain conditions, one of which was that they should practice their religion openly and have mosques and calls to prayer; also that the vazir should be (appointed) from among them, as is the case at present when the vazir is Aḥmad b. Kūya (or Kūba); and also that they should fight the infidels together with the king, but when he is at war with Muslims, they should stay (*waqafū*) in his army apart from the others and not fight their co-religionists. At present some 7,000 of them (p. 11) ride with the king, armed with bows, cuirasses, helmets and coats of mail. There are also lancers among them armed as is usual with Muslims. They have Muslim judges (*qāḍī*). The usage of the Khazar capital is that there should be seven judges (*qāḍī*), two of them for the Muslims, two for the Khazars giving judgment in accordance with the Torah, two for the Christians giving judgment in accordance with the Gospel, and one for the Ṣaḳāliba, the Rūs and other pagans giving judgment according to pagan (custom), i.e. according to the commands of Reason. And when a case of major importance is brought up before them and they do not know how to settle it, they meet with the Muslim qāḍīs and submit to their decision and follow the ruling of the shari'at. Among the eastern kings of this region only the Khazar king has troops receiving stipends (*murtaziqa*?).<sup>2</sup> Every Muslim in those parts is called after those (warriors) Lārisī (p. 12).

The Rūs and Ṣaḳāliba, who, as we have said, are pagans, (also) serve in the king's army and are his servants (*'abīd*). In his town, apart from the Lārisiya, there are many Muslim merchants and artisans who went to the country of the Khazar king in view of his justice and the security (prevailing in his country). They possess a cathedral mosque

<sup>1</sup> Most probably, the Alāns who were living beyond the Caspian and south of the Aral sea. \*Arsiya sounds very much like the ancient Aorsi (in Chinese *Yen-ts'ai*). In Persian the name *Aorsi* became *As* (Georgian: *Ous-et'i*, Russian: *Os-et-in*). According to the history of the later Han, *Hou Han Shu* (tenth century), ch. 118, 17b, the name *Yen-ts'ai* had been changed to A-lan-ya (\*Alan, i.e. Aryan), see Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, II, 87. Thus the identity of *Aorsi* and *Alān* is established, but it is quite likely that the change of the name was the result of another tribe or clan taking the leadership of the federation. [On the Alans beyond the Caspian see Bīrūnī, *Tahdīd al-amākin* (cf. *Hudūd*, 481 [ad p. 318] and 445). A trace of the earlier *r* in the name of the As is found in the inverted order in the title of the Khazar general *Rās-tarkhān*, Yaqubi, II, 446, probably the tarkhān of the Arsiya; Tabari, III, 338, gives a later (?) form *As-tarkhān*.]

<sup>2</sup> E (p. 87): *min burūr* "from outlying parts (?)".

with a minaret rising above the royal castle and they have also other mosques with schools in which young people learn the Qor'ān. Were the Muslims and Christians to enter into an agreement, the king would have no means (to oppose them).

Mas'ūdī says: In what we have reported we really meant not the king (*malik*) of the Khazar but rather the *khāqān*.<sup>1</sup> The fact is that in the Khazar state there is a *khāqān* and the rule is that he is in the hands of another *king* and in his palace. The *khāqān* remains within a castle and can neither ride forth, nor appear before the courtiers or commoners, nor leave his (p. 13) dwelling, where with him is his family. He does not give any orders or take decisions in state affairs. Yet the Khazar kingdom would not be properly governed (*lā yastaqīmu*) by their king, except owing to the *khāqān* being with him in the capital and by his side (*ma'a-hu*) in his castle. When the Khazar country is visited by famine, or any other misfortune, or when war with other nations goes against the Khazars, or some calamity appears all of a sudden, the nobles and commoners rush to the king saying: "We have taken an augury from this *khāqān*, and his life is of bad omen for us and we have found him inauspicious; so kill him, or deliver him to us that we should kill him". And sometimes he delivers him to them and they kill him; sometimes he himself kills him, and sometimes he pities him and protects him, if there is no crime for which he has merited (punishment) and no sin he has committed. I do not know whether this rule is of ancient or recent date, but the fact that the office of *khāqān* belongs to the members of a certain family among their nobles suggests to me that kingship was with them from the days of old, but God alone is omniscient (p. 14).

The Khazars have skiffs (*zauraq*) in which they sail on a river upstream from their town, which flows into their river from the upper regions and which is called Burtās<sup>2</sup>; along it live sedentary (*hādīra*) Turkish tribes forming part of the Khazar kingdom. Their settlements extend in an uninterrupted succession between the Khazar kingdom and the \*Burghar. This river<sup>3</sup> comes from the direction of Burghar and boats ply (*takhtalifu*) on it between Burghar and Khazar.

<sup>1</sup> See Minorsky, 'Addenda to the *Ḥudūd al-'Alam*', BSOAS 1955, XVII/2, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the upper course of the Volga flowing from West to East and considered as a tributary of the Kama taken for the original Volga. See *Ḥudūd*, §6, 43-44, as against Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 336, who identifies this river with the Samara (cf. also Barthold in *Sov. Vostokoved.*, 1940, I, 45).

<sup>3</sup> Grammatically, again the Burtās river, but *ad sensum* rather the original Volga-Kama coming from the Burghar.

§5. The BURȚĀS<sup>1</sup> are a Turkish tribe and live, as previously mentioned, on the river named after them and from their country come pelts of black and red foxes known as *burȥāsī*. One black pelt reaches the price of 100 dinars or even more; red ones are lower in price. Arab and Persian kings take pride in the black furs (p. 15), which they value more highly than those of sable-martens, *fanak*<sup>2</sup> and other similar beasts. The kings have hats, caftans (*khafātīn*) and fur coats (*dawāwīj*) made of them, and it is impossible for a king not to possess a caftan<sup>3</sup> or a fur coat lined with these black *burȥāsī* foxes.

§6. In the upper part of the Khazar river there is an estuary (*maṣabb*, a canal?)<sup>4</sup> disemboguing into a gulf of the Niṭās (Pontus) sea<sup>5</sup>—which is the sea of the Rūs and is navigated only by them, and they (the Rūs) are established on one of its coasts.<sup>6</sup> The RŪS are a great nation; they do not submit to any king or any law. Among them are merchants who constantly journey to the king of Burghar. The Rūs have in their land a silver mine similar to that of \*Panjhīr in Khorasan (continued in §8).<sup>7</sup>

§7. The town of the \*BURGHAR stands on the coast of the Māyṭas (Maeotis) and I think they are in the Seventh clime.<sup>8</sup> They are a kind of Turks, and caravans constantly go from them (p. 16) to Khwārazm in the land of Khorasan, and from Khwārazm to them; but the road crosses the (territories) of other nomad Turks and the caravans (have) to be escorted.<sup>9</sup> The Burghar king at the present date, which is 332/943, is a Muslim: he accepted Islam in the days of Muqtadir-billah after

<sup>1</sup> Probably the ancient Mordvans living to the West of the Volga, see *Hudud*, §52.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is still doubtful: *fenecus arabicus* is the small Saharian fox, in French *fenec*, but this does not apply to northern regions. G. Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel bezogen die Araber. . . aus d. nordisch-baltischen Ländern*, 1886, p. 16, distinguishes between *fanak* and *funk* (?) which, according to the *Qāmūs* is a valuable pelt.

<sup>3</sup> For P. *khafātān*, *khafātīn* E. substitutes *akhfāf* "boots", though boots made of valuable furs are doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> A confusion resulting from the existence of a portage between the Volga and the Don, see below §9. The statement on the canal entirely contradicts Mas'ūdī's other statements, I, 273, and II, 24.

<sup>5</sup> A mistake for Māyṭas, the Azov sea.

<sup>6</sup> This seems too early for the principality of Tmutorokan.

<sup>7</sup> Istakhrī, 226, and others refer this detail only to the one of the three tribes of the Rūs called al-Arthā, Artā (?). According to the Chester Beatty MS. of Istakhrī, *Artā* (sic) adjoined the northern uninhabited desert.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. the northernmost belt of territories. In this paragraph Mas'ūdī several times *confuses* the Bulgars living on the Volga with those living in the Balkans. See the analysis of this chapter in Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 142–55.

<sup>9</sup> *Maḥfūza minhum*; E. *mukhaffara*. The road is described in Ibn Faḍlān, §§17–43.

310/922,<sup>1</sup> when he saw a vision in his sleep. His son went on pilgrimage and came to Baghdad and brought with him for Muqtadir a banner, a *sawād*<sup>2</sup> and a tribute (or money, *māl*). The Burghar have a cathedral mosque. This (?) king<sup>3</sup> makes raids on Constantinople with an army of 50,000 horsemen and more, and sends his raiding parties in the same neighbourhood (*ḥaula-hā?*) to the countries of Rome (*Rūmiya*), Andalus, the Burgundians (*Burjān*), the Galicians and the Franks (*Ifranj*). From him to Constantinople there is a distance of a couple of months' travel without interruption across inhabited lands and steppes (*maḥāwiz*).

[There follows a report (pp. 16–18) on the Muslim expedition from Ṭarsūs which in 312/924 reached the straits of Constantinople and then the lands of Fanadiya (Venice?) where they were joined by the Burghar who said that their king was nearby.<sup>4</sup> This, according to Mas'ūdī, proves that the Burghar can reach Constantinople].

(P. 18) In the country of the (Volga) Burghars nights are extremely short during a part of the year. It is said that a man of their race cannot finish cooking a pot (of meat) before the morning comes.<sup>5</sup>

[There follows an explanation of this phenomenon].

§8. The RŪS<sup>6</sup> are a numerous nation with various subdivisions. Among them are اللوذغانة *al-Lūdhghāna* (read: *الاورمانة* \**al-Ūrmāna* "Northmen," cf. Russian *Murman*), who are the most numerous and for trading purposes constantly visit the countries of Andalus, Rome, Constantinople and Khazar.

(Some time) after 300/912 some 500 ships (*markab*), each carrying 100 men, arrived at the straits (*khalīj*) of Nīṭas (Pontus) (p. 19) joint with (*muttaṣil*) the Khazar sea (*sic*) and here there are men of the Khazar king, strong and well supplied with equipment. (Their task is) to oppose anyone coming from this sea or from that side of the land, the parts of which stretch from the Khazar sea down to the Nīṭas (Pontus). This in view of the fact that the nomad Ghuz Turks come to winter in this tract of land. Sometimes the branch which joins the Khazar river

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be an echo of the caliph's embassy to Bulghar in 309/922 in which Ibn Faḍlān took part.

<sup>2</sup> Barbier de Meynard translates it by "fourrures noires". D. Cowan suggests to me "a black robe" (?). *Sawād* might even mean "large crowds of people". E. has *bunūd* "banners".

<sup>3</sup> Confusion of the two Bulghar kingdoms!

<sup>4</sup> See Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 151, suggesting \**Bažghar* (Magyars) for *Burghar*.

<sup>5</sup> See I. Faḍlān's report in which he also refers to the kettle, ed. A. Z. V. Togan, 1939, §50.

<sup>6</sup> The text of this § which continues §6 was analysed by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 330–53. See Dunlop, *l.c.*, 209 and recently A. Melvinger, *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident, d'après les sources arabes*, Upsala 1955, p. 67.



(Volga) to the gulf of the Pontus<sup>1</sup> becomes frozen and the Ghuz with their horses cross it. This is a large stream (Don) but (the ice) does not collapse under them because it is as hard as stone. Consequently the Ghuz<sup>2</sup> pass over to the Khazar country and on several occasions, when the men posted here to repel the Ghuz were unable to hold them at this place, the Khazar king had to sally forth to prevent them from passing over the ice and to repel them from his territory. In summer, however, the Turks cannot pass.

When the Russian ships reached the Khazar troops posted at the entrance (*fam*) to the straits,<sup>3</sup> they sent an envoy to the Khazar king (asking for permission) (p. 20) to pass through his country, sail down his river, enter the river (canal?) of the Khazar (capital?)<sup>4</sup> and so reach the Khazar sea, which, as has been mentioned before, is the sea of Jurjān, Ṭabaristān and other Iranian (provinces)—on condition that they should give him half of the booty captured from the nations living by that sea. He allowed them to do so and they penetrated into the straits, reached the estuary of the river (Don), and began to ascend that branch until they came to the Khazar river (Volga) by which they descended to the town of \*Ātil.<sup>5</sup> They sailed past it, reached the estuary where the river flows out into the Khazar sea and thence (sailed) to the town of Āmol (in Ṭabaristān). This (Volga) is a large stream carrying much water. The ships of the Rūs scattered over the sea and carried out raids in Gīlān, Daylam, Ṭabaristān, Abaskūn (which stands on the coast of Jurjān), the oil-bearing areas (*bilād al-naḥḥāṭa*) and (the lands lying) in the direction of Azarbayjan (p. 21), for from the territory of Ardabīl in Azarbayjan to this sea there is a three days' distance. The Rus shed blood, captured<sup>6</sup> women and children and seized the property (of the people). They sent out raiding parties and burnt (villages). The nations around this sea were in an uproar, because in olden times they had not

<sup>1</sup> Mas'ūdī means the Don (which he himself, II, 360, calls Ṭanā'is) flowing into the Azov sea. His basic mistake is that again he takes the *portage* between the Don and the Volga for a *branch* of the Volga flowing into the Azov sea. He is right, however, about the possibility of communications between the two rivers (along the portage). The junction of the two rivers imagined by Mas'ūdī was realised only on 31 May 1952, through the opening of the Volga-Don canal!

<sup>2</sup> Apparently coming from the steppes stretching to the west of the Don.

<sup>3</sup> The straits of Kerch?

<sup>4</sup> P. *nahr*; E. *bahr* "a great river".

<sup>5</sup> i.e. from the Azov sea up the Don and then (having crossed the portage) down the Volga.

<sup>6</sup> *Istabāḥa* "considered as licit, accessible to all".

witnessed any enemy marching on them from the sea,<sup>1</sup> as only boats of merchants and fishermen had been plying on it.<sup>2</sup> The Rus fought with the Gil and Daylam<sup>3</sup> and with one of the generals of Ibn Abī al-Sāj. Then they came to the oil-bearing coast of the kingdom of Sharvān known as Bākūh (Bākū). On their return (from the coast) the Rūs sought shelter on the islands which are only a few miles distant from the oil-bearing (area).<sup>4</sup> The king of Sharvān in those days was 'Alī b. Haytham. Having made their preparations, the inhabitants in their boats (*qawārib*) and trading-ships sailed towards those islands. The Rūs turned upon them (p. 22) and thousands of the Muslims were killed and drowned. The Rūs remained many months on that sea, as we have said, and none of the nations adjacent to that sea<sup>5</sup> could find a way to reach them. The people were afraid of them and on their guard, because the sea reaches up to<sup>6</sup> the nations living around it. When the Rūs were laden with booty and had had enough of their adventure, they sailed to the estuary of the Khazar river (Volga) and sent messengers to the Khazar king carrying to him money and booty, as had been stipulated between them. The Khazar king has no (sea-going) ship (*markab*)<sup>7</sup> and his men have no habit of using them; were it not so, there would be calamities in store for the Muslims. The Lārisiya and other Muslims in the kingdom (heard) what (the Rūs) had done and said to the king: "Leave us (to deal) with these people who have attacked our Muslim brothers and shed their blood and captured their women and children". The king, unable to oppose them, sent to warn the Rūs that the Muslims had decided to fight them (p. 23). The Muslims gathered and came down the stream to meet them. When they came face to face, the Rūs left their ships. The Muslims were about 15,000, with horses and equipment, and some of the Christians living in the town Ātil were with them. The battle lasted three days and God granted victory to the Muslims. The Rūs were put to the sword and killed and drowned and only some 5,000 escaped, who in their ships sailed to that

<sup>1</sup> This statement is noteworthy but Mas'ūdī may have in view the quick succession of the invasions of the Rūs which took place about 300/912 and of which the historians of Mazandaran preserved a more detailed record, see above under *Rūs*.

<sup>2</sup> Mas'ūdī, I, 274, says that he himself sailed from Abaskūn to Ṭabaristān, etc. (*wa ghayrihā*).

<sup>3</sup> E. adds: "and (with) the coast of Jurjān and the detachment (*naḥar*) of the people of *Maudī'a* (\*Barda'a?), Arrān and *S.ḥān* (\*Sharvān) jointly with (*ma'a* under?) a general of Ibn Abī-Sāj".

<sup>4</sup> There are several small islands at the entrance to the bay of Baku (Nargen, Zhiloy, Artyom, etc.).

<sup>5</sup> As corrected in E.

<sup>6</sup> E. *ghāmīr* "submerges".

<sup>7</sup> As distinguished from the river boats, see above p. 148.

bank which lies towards the Burtās.<sup>1</sup> They left their ships and proceeded by land. Some of them were killed by the Burtās, others fell (into the hands of) the Burghar Muslims who (also) killed them. So far as could be estimated, the number of those whom the Muslims killed on the bank of the Khazar river was about 30,000,<sup>2</sup> and from that time the Rūs have not reverted to what we have described (p. 24).

§9. Mas'ūdī says: We have reported this account to refute the thesis of those who argue that the Khazar sea joins the MAEOTIS (Azov sea) and the strait of Constantinople (directly) on the side of the Maeotis and the Pontus. Were it so, the Rūs would have found an outlet because (the Pontus) is *their* sea, as already mentioned. Among the nations bordering on that (?) sea there is no divergence of opinion concerning the fact that the sea of the Iranians (*a'ājim*) has no straits (*khalīj*) for communications with any other sea.<sup>3</sup> It is a small sea and is completely known. The report on (the expedition) of the Rūs ships is widely spread in those countries and is known to the various nations. The year is also known: (the expedition took place) after 300/912 but the (exact) date has escaped my memory. It may be that he who said that the Khazar sea communicates with the straits of Constantinople assumed that the Khazar sea was the same as the Maeotis and the Pontus,<sup>4</sup> which latter is the sea (p. 25) of the (Danubian) Burghar and Rūs, but God knows best how it is.

The coast of Ṭabaristān lies on that (Khazar) sea and here stands the town Alhum which is the harbour close to the coast and between it and the town Āmol there is an hour's distance. On the coast of Jurjān stands the town of \*Abaskūn at three days' distance from Jurjān. By the same sea live the Jīl (Gilanians) and the Daylam and merchant ships ply between them and Āmol (Atil?) on the Khazar sea.<sup>5</sup> Ships also sail on the latter, going from the places which we have mentioned on the coast, to Bākuh (Baku) which is the mine of white petroleum and other (kinds of it). There is no place in the world producing white petroleum save this one, though only God is omniscient. It lies on the coast of Sharvān. In the oil-bearing area (*al-naḥḥāṭa*) there is a volcano<sup>6</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the western bank of the Volga, contrary to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 337.

<sup>2</sup> This suggests that originally the Rūs were less than 50,000.

<sup>3</sup> The same conclusions had already been adumbrated by Mas'ūdī in I, 273, where he quotes the witness of his merchant friends, who visited the Rūs and the Bulghar, to deny any geographical connection of the basins of the two seas. But see his contradiction in §6. On a mistake in Ptolemy, see Marquart, *ibid.*, 153.

<sup>4</sup> Maeotis-cum-Ponto.

<sup>5</sup> Āmol is *not* a harbour.

<sup>6</sup> ἀτμῆ "smoke". This report may refer to the "eternal fire" of Surakhan, inside the shrine built by Indian (Panjabi) worshippers. See A. V. W. Jackson, *From Constantinople*, 1911, pp. 42-57.

is one of the fire-spitting springs; it does not rest at any time and emits long jets of flame (*tataḍarramu al-su'adā?*). Off this coast lie several islands (p. 26): one of these lies at three days' distance from the coast and possesses a huge volcano (*aṭma*) which at certain periods of the year emits a hissing sound (*taṣfiru*)<sup>1</sup> and a great flame appears from it and flashes into the air as high as the highest mountains. It lights up the major part of the sea and this phenomenon can be seen from land at a hundred farsakhs' distance.<sup>2</sup> This volcano resembles Mt. Burkān ("Volcano", Etna) in Sicily which lies within the dominions of the Franks, and (in the proximity of) the Ifriqiya (Tunisia) of the Maghrib.

[There follows a description (pp. 26–7) of the volcanoes in the dominions of the Mahārāja (Sumatra) and in Shihṛ in Arabia].

(p. 27) In the (Khazar) sea other islands lie opposite the coast of Jurjān<sup>3</sup> where (hunters) capture a kind of white falcon, which is the most responsive (to its master's) call and takes the shortest time in getting accustomed (to the trainer). Yet there is a drawback in this breed because the hunters capture the falcons on an island and feed them on fish, and when the diet is altered, they grow weak.

[There follows a long discourse on falcons (pp. 27–39)].

§10. (p. 39) Let us now return to the description of al-Bāb wal-abwāb,<sup>4</sup> of (the tribes) in the neighbourhood of the Wall, and of Mt. Qabkh (Caucasus). We have said that of such neighbouring nations the most harmful (*sharr al-mamālik*) is the principality of \*KHAYDĀQ (spelt: *Jyḍān*). Their prince is a Muslim who claims Arab descent from Qaḥṭān. At the present time, namely in 332/943, he is called *Salīfān* and there is no other Muslim in his kingdom except himself, his son and his family. I think that this title is that of all the kings of this country.<sup>5</sup>

§11. Between \*Khaydāq and al-Bāb there live some Muslims who are ARABS and do not speak any language well except Arabic.<sup>6</sup> They live in woods, thickets, valleys and (along) large rivers, in villages which they came to inhabit, at the time (p. 40) when these parts were conquered by those who came hither from the Arabian deserts. They border on the kingdom of \*Khaydāq, but are protected (from it) by those thickets and rivers. They live at some three *mīls* (one farsakh) from the town of al-Bāb and the inhabitants of the latter come to their assistance.

<sup>1</sup> E. *taṣfiru* "crackles".

<sup>2</sup> The reference is probably to burning oil-gushers.

<sup>3</sup> See *Hudūd*, §4, 38: \*Dihistānān-sar.

<sup>4</sup> See above p. 145, beginning of §4.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> See Annex V.

§12. On the side of the Qabkh and the Sarīr, Khaydāq borders on (the territory of) a king called B.RZBĀN (\*Marzubān?)<sup>1</sup> who is a Muslim and his town is called K.r.j (\*Karakh). They are armed with maces. Every ruler of this kingdom is called B.rzbān.

§13. Beyond it lies the country (*mulk*) of GHUMĪQ.<sup>2</sup> Its people are Christians who do not obey any king but have chiefs (*rw'asā*) and live in peace with the kingdom of the Alān.

§14. Another neighbour (of Khaydāq?) in the direction of the Sarīr and the mountains is the kingdom of ZARĪKARĀN (\*Zirih-garān) which means "makers of coats of mail",<sup>3</sup> because most of them are engaged in the manufacturing of coats of mail (p. 41), stirrups, bridles, swords and other weapons made of iron. They profess various religions: Islamic, Christian and Jewish. Their country (*balad*) is rough and this roughness protects them from their neighbours.

§15. Then comes (the kingdom of) the king of the SARĪR, who is called Fīlān-shāh (Qīlān-shāh?) and professes Christianity.<sup>4</sup> As we have already mentioned in this book (§1), he is a descendant of Bahrām Gūr and received the title of the "Lord of the Throne (*sarīr*)", because Yazdagird, the last Sasanian king, when he was retreating after defeat, sent away to this region his golden throne, his treasures and his belongings, with a man descended from Bahrām Gūr and told him to keep his charge until the arrival of the king. Then Yazdagird went to Khorasan and was killed there in the caliphate of 'Othmān b. 'Affān, as already mentioned. The man settled in this region and seized the royal power in it, and the kingship (p. 42) remained in his family. He was surnamed "Lord of the Throne" and his capital is called J.mr.j (\*Khumzakh, or Khunzakh). He has twelve thousand villages from which he takes as many servants (or slaves, *yasta'bidu*) as he wishes. His country is rough and for that reason inaccessible, being one of the branches of the Qabkh. The king raids the Khazars and is victorious over them because they are in the plain and he in the mountains.

<sup>1</sup> *Marzubān* "warden of the march". For *b/m* cf. Brosset's trans. of S. Orbelian, p. 246: Rum-qal'a "au confluent de la rivière Marzeban, ou Barzeman et de l'Euphrate". Cf. A. Nöldeke, 'Der Euphrat von Gerger bis Djerebis', *Petermanns Mitt.*, 1920, LXVI, 53-4 (plate 3): Merziman. [Cf. above p. 95 Ur-Karakh.]

<sup>2</sup> Later Ghāzī-Qumukh, Qāḍī-Qumukh, now Lak.

<sup>3</sup> Inhabitants of the village of Kubachi (Turk. *köbachi* "makers of coats of mail"), still famous for their ancient crafts, who speak a dialect of the Dargua group, see above p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> On the Sarīr see above p. 97 and Annex IV. I strongly doubt the identification of the Sarīr with the Fīlān-shāh, see above p. 100.

§16. Then follows the kingdom of the \*ALĀN (*al-Lān*) whose king is called K.rk.ndāj (?), which is a common name of all their kings,<sup>1</sup> just as \*Fīlān (Qīlān?)-shah is the name of all the kings of the Sarīr. The capital of the Alān is called \*Maghaṣ (spelt: *Ma'aṣ*), which means "a fly."<sup>2</sup> The king possesses castles and pleasantries besides this town and (now and then) he transfers his residence thither. Between him and the king of the Sarīr there are now links of marriage, each of them having married the sister of the other (p. 43). After the spread of Islam and under the Abbasids the kings of the Alān professed Christianity, whereas before that they had been heathens. After 320/932 they abjured Christianity and expelled the bishops and the priests whom the Byzantine emperor had previously sent to them.

§17. Between the Alān kingdom and the mountain Qabkh there is a castle and a bridge over a large river (Terek). This is the castle called "the Alān castle" (*qal'at al-Lān*).<sup>3</sup> It was built in the days of old by an early Persian king called Ispandiyār b. \*Bishtāsf. He garrisoned this castle with men whose (duty it was) to prevent the Alans from reaching the mountain Qabkh. There is no other road for them except by the bridge below the castle. The castle stands on a hard rock and there is no way of conquering or reaching it, except by agreement with the garrison. This castle built on this rock possesses a spring of fresh water, which coming from the top of the rock, emerges in the centre of the castle. The latter (p. 44) is known for its inaccessibility among the fortresses of the world. In their poems the Persians mention (this castle) and how Ispandiyār b. \*Bishtāsf built it. (This) Ispandiyār waged many wars with various nations in the East. He went into the lands of the most distant Turks and destroyed the Copper Town<sup>4</sup> which was extremely inaccessible and unconquerable,<sup>5</sup> (the strength of) its castle being proverbial with the Persians. The exploits of Ispandiyār and what we have mentioned of him are described in the book known as *Kitāb*

<sup>1</sup> I. Rusta, 142, gives the Alān king the title \**baghātar*, see Annex IV. *K.rk.ndāj* may be a Turkish honorific (\**kār-kündāj*). The element *kār* is found in several Turkish names and words (*Kār-bugha*, *kār-balıq*); the second part of the name can be compared with the patronymic of the amir of north-Caucasian (Khazarian?) origin Iṣhāq b. *Kündāj*, see Tabari, III, 1877, etc., or Iṣhāq b. *Kündājiq* b. Urkhūr (?), *ibid.*, III, 1930, mentioned in the years 259-69/872-82. Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 18, and Dunlop, *l.c.*, 61. Cf. the title of a Magyar dignitary *k.nda*, see *Hudūd*, 323.

<sup>2</sup> P. *الپانة* "piety", E. *المساة* "mildness". Read: *الذبابة* "a fly" (in Persian *magas*), as explained in Minorsky, 'The ancient capital of the Alans', in *BSOAS*, 1952, XIV/2, 221-38.

<sup>3</sup> In the gorge of Darial (\**Dar-i Alān* "the gate of the Alans").

<sup>4</sup> *Madānat al-ṣufr*, in Persian *Rūyīm-diz*.

<sup>5</sup> Lit.: "which held a high place in impregnability".

*al-Paykar* ("Book of battles"?)<sup>1</sup> which Ibn al-Muqaffa' translated into Arabic. When Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān reached this country and subdued its people, he settled some Arabs in this castle, and to our days they have guarded this place, and their provisions are from time to time brought to them by land<sup>2</sup> from the Tiflis March. Between Tiflis and this castle there is (p. 45) five days' distance (amidst) infidels (*al-kuffār*; E. *al-kibār* "five long days"?). Even a single man posted in this castle could prevent the (armies) of all the infidel kings from passing through this place, because the latter is (almost) suspended in the air and commands the road, the bridge and the river.

The Alān king (can) muster 30,000 horsemen. He is powerful, very strong and influential (\*among?) the kings. His kingdom consists of an uninterrupted series of settlements: when the cocks crow (in one of them) the answer comes from the other parts of the kingdom because the villages are intermingled and close together.

§18. There follows on the Alān a nation called KASHAK (\*Kasak? i.e. Cherkes),<sup>3</sup> which lives between Mt. Qabkh and the sea of Rūm. This is a cleanly people following the Magian religion.<sup>4</sup> Among the nations already mentioned in these parts there is no nation of purer complexion, of fairer colouring, of more handsome men and more beautiful women, more stately, with narrower waists, with shapelier

<sup>1</sup> As restored by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 166.

<sup>2</sup> \**Min al-barr*, as translated by Barbier de Meynard, though such an addition would be superfluous, there being no sea in the neighbourhood. Arabic scholars whom I have consulted offered as an alternative \**min al-burr* "(provisions) consisting of wheat" and doubted my own surmise \**min al-birr* "from voluntary pious contributions". However, "wheat", specified after "provisions" (*rizq*) seems to restrict the purport of the aid. In view of the geographical position of the castle which was an outpost of Tiflis—itsself a "march" (*thaghr*) surrounded by "infidels"—I humbly maintain that feeding the defenders of the outpost was a *pious duty* for the people of Tiflis, just as the sharvanshahs supported the garrison of Darband, see above pp. 26 (§7) and 61.

<sup>3</sup> In old Russian: *Kasog*, in Osset: *Kasag*. Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 161. Perhaps in Arabic too it should be \**Kasak*. Mas'ūdī may have been influenced by his Persian etymology, see below. The name Cherkes probably consists of *chahār-Kas* "the four (clans of) Kas", cf. Rashīd al-dīn, Berezin, VII, 2: *Jārkhās* (i.e. \**Chārkhās*), as a proper name.

<sup>4</sup> Islamic authors give the name of *majūs* to the ancient Rūs and Northmen (see Majūs in *E.I.*), possibly because of their burning the dead (see their rites of ship-burial as described by Ibn-Faḍlān, ed. A. Z. V. Toḡan, §§88–92). This may have been wrongly attributed to a "fire-worshipping" inclination. See Marvazi, ed. Minorsky, pp. \*22, 117: the Slavs "*yuhriqūna al-mawtā li-annahum 'abadat al-nirān*". Cf. A. Melvinger, *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident*, Uppsala 1955, correction *ad* p. 81. One wonders whether the Cherkes had any similar rites to deserve a similar designation? By Mas'ūdī's time a considerable number of Cherkes must have been Christians.

buttocks, more elegant and (in general) comelier than this nation. Their women (p. 46) are distinguished by the sweetness of their intercourse and they dress themselves in white, in *rūmī* brocades, scarlet cloth and various brocades shot with gold. In their country various textiles are produced of flax,<sup>1</sup> of the kind called *ṭalā* (?) which is finer and more lasting in wear than *dabīqī*; one length of it costs 10 dinars and it is exported to the neighbouring countries of Islam. Such textiles are also exported from the contiguous nations but the famous kind is the one coming from these (Kashak). The Alān are more powerful (*mustaḥḥira* 'alā) than this nation, which could not cope (*lā tantaṣif min*) with the Alāns, were it not for the protection of the forts on the sea-coast.

There are disputes about the sea by which they live: some people opine that this is the sea of Rūm and others that it is the Nīṭas (Pontus).<sup>2</sup> The fact is that by sea they are near Trebizond: from it goods reach them in ships (p. 47) and they on their part also equip (ships).<sup>3</sup> The cause of their weakness in respect of the Alāns is their neglect (*tark*) to appoint a king to rule over them and unite their interests ("words"). Otherwise, neither the Alāns nor any other nation would be able to withstand them. Their name means in Persian "haughtiness, pride" because the Persians call a haughty, proud man *kashak*.<sup>4</sup>

§19. Beyond this nation along the coast lives a nation whose country is called SEVEN LANDS (*al-sab' buldān*). It is a great nation, inaccessible and far-flung. I do not know to what community (*millat*) they belong, and have no information about their religion.<sup>5</sup>

§20. Then beyond it lives another great nation, separated from the Kashak by a huge river: the latter is like the Euphrates, and flows into

<sup>1</sup> P. *ḥattām*; E. *qanb*?

<sup>2</sup> This shows that Mas'ūdī used various reports.

<sup>3</sup> See above, §1.

<sup>4</sup> In Persian *kash* "proud".

<sup>5</sup> According to the Armenian geography, European Sarmatia had "seven round mountains" the waters of which formed one great river, cf. ed. Soukry, 16, 21-22. F. Brun (Ph. Bruun), *Chernomorýe*, Odessa 1880, II, 313, suggests that *sab'* (seven) may be easily restored as *\*tis'* (nine), in which case Mas'ūdī's passage could be compared with the "nine climes" of Khazaria (Const. Porph., ed. Moravcsik, §10) contiguous with Alania. All the livelihood and plenty of the Khazars came from them. However, these climes lay apparently between Alania and Khazaria, and not "beyond" (i.e. to the west of) Alania. The alternative identification (Brun, II, 316) is with the Bulgars who did not follow Asparukh in his trek to the Danube (A.D. 679) but, with Bayan, remained in their old haunts near the Azov sea. Kunik, *ibid.*, 316, thought of the Rus to whom the Khazars had ceded a part of the Kuban delta (?). All these hypotheses are not final. One thing is clear that in the north-western direction, beyond the Alans and Kashak Mas'ūdī leaves the ground of solid fact.



the Nīṭas (Pontos) on which stands Trebizond. It is called IR.M<sup>1</sup> and consists of wonderful (or strange) people (p. 48). Their creed (*ārā'*) is pagan. A curious (*ṭarīf*) report runs about this nation living on the coast: yearly a fish comes to them and they eat (part) of it, then it comes again and turns to them its other side and they eat of it, while, by that time, the flesh on the side from which it was previously removed, has grown again. The story of this nation is spread in those infidel lands.<sup>2</sup>

§21. Beyond this nation the coast continues amid four mountains, each inaccessible and rising into the air. Between these four mountains the distance is about 100 *mīl*, all in one plain (*ṣaḥrā*). In the centre of the latter there is a circular depression as if drawn with a pair of compasses. Its circumference has the form of a well sunk in solid rock in a perfectly round shape. This circumference is about 50 *mīl* of continuous downward cutting, similar to a wall built from below upwards. The bottom (of the depression) lies about two *mīl* deep (p. 49) and there is no means of reaching the (level floor) of this circle. At night numerous lights are seen in it at different places and by day one sees in it villages, cultivated lands (*'amā'ir*), rivers flowing amid them, men and beasts. All these things, however, are seen in reduced form (*liṭāf al-ajsām*) in view of the distance down to the bottom. It is not known of what race the people are and they have no way of coming up in any direction. Nor is there any means for those above to descend to them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. taking Ir.m for the name of Paradise adds *Iram dhāt al-'imad*, cf. Qor'ān, LXXXIX, 6. The huge river separating the Kashak from Ir.m can be either the Kuban, or more likely the Don in view of the story of the huge fishes which seem to be sturgeon (*acipenser huso*). According to John Tsetses (*circa* 1110-80) the "Scythian" name of Maeotis was *Καμπάλουκ*, interpreted as "city of fishes". Marquart comes to the conclusion that the name represents *kār-balug* "giant fish", see *Keleti szemle*, XI, 1910, pp. 1-26, with corrections in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, IV, 3-4, 1924, p. 327, and *Wehrōt und Arang*, 1938, p. \*57, 134, 188. Already Herodotus, IV, 53, spoke of the huge sturgeon of the Dnieper having the "Scythian" name *ἀντακίος*. Mas'ūdī's story is a variant of the Alexandrian stories about the inhabitants of the extreme North, see in I. Faqīh, 298-9. Cf. Abū-Ḥamīd al-Gharnāṭī, *Jour. As.*, July 1925, p. 118. As our report says that the inhabitants of Ir.m were fishermen, it can reflect some recollections of the remnants of the Bulgars (see the preceding note) or of the Magyars (in Lebedia, near the Azov sea) who were known as fisherman, see *Ḥudūd*, §22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I. Fadlān, f. 208a, and al-Gharnāṭī, ed. Ferrand, 118, on the peoples of the Far North. Through some ancient error the Azov sea was sometimes connected with the northern seas. Cf. Ṭāhir Marvazī, ed. Minorsky, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> This fantastic description may have been inspired by the steppes of Northern Crimea, looked at from the top of the Crimean range.

Behind these four mountains, along the coast, there is another depression which is shallow, wooded and overgrown.<sup>1</sup> In it live various monkeys of upright stature (*muntasibat al-qāmāt*) and round faces. Most of them resemble humans, though covered with hair. When, as it happens on rare occasions, one has succeeded in catching a monkey, it proves to be of great intelligence and understanding; however, it has no tongue by which to express itself in speech but it understands everything which (p. 50) is communicated to it by signs. Sometimes monkeys are carried to the kings of those parts and are taught to stand with fans over their heads during repasts, because a monkey has the gift of recognising poison in food and drink. The king's food is placed before the monkey who smells it and then a piece of it is thrown to it; should it eat (the morsel), the king eats also, and should it abstain, it is understood that it is poisoned and the king takes warning from this.

[There follows (pp. 50-9) an excursus on monkeys, mongooses, etc.].

[There follows the story of four Turkish tribes: Bajnī (Chepni?), Bajghurd, Bijanāk (Pecheneg) and Nūkarda,<sup>2</sup> who live to the west of the Alāns, and who *circa* 320/932 attacked the Byzantine fortress *W.l.nd.r* (pp. 59-64)].<sup>3</sup>

(p. 64). Let us now return to the description of Mt. Qabkh, the Wall and *al-Bāb wal-abwāb*. We have already recorded some information on the nations inhabiting that country (and shall now complete the report).<sup>4</sup>

§22. A nation adjacent to the Alān is called ABKHĀZ.<sup>5</sup> They follow Christianity and now have a king but the Alān king prevails (*mustaẓhir*) over them. They live close to Mt. Qabkh.

§23. Beyond them is the kingdom of the \*JURZIYA (Georgians) who are a numerous nation professing Christianity and called \*Jurzān.

<sup>1</sup> This is possibly the wooded southern slope of the Crimean range. As there are no monkeys in the Crimea, Mas'ūdī's source (cf. above p. 142, n. 2) may have used the word *qurūd* only allegorically with reference to the multinational merchant population of the Crimean Riviera.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps: \*Novgorodian adventurers (*brodmiki*), living among the Turkish nomads, see above p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> See Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 60-74. Dunlop, *l.c.*, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Moving this time southwards along the Black sea coast and then eastwards from the Black sea to the Caspian.

<sup>5</sup> Here Mas'ūdī seems to refer to the Abkhaz proper, and not to the Georgian dynasty of that name, see above p. 84.

They now have a king called *al-Ṭabīʿī*<sup>1</sup> and the capital of this king is called Masjid<sup>2</sup> dhil-Qarnayn. The Abkhāz and the Georgians used to pay *kharāj* to the lord of the March of Tiflis, from the time when Tiflis was conquered and Muslims were settled in it down to the time of Mutawakkil. There was in Tiflis a man called Iṣḥāq b. Ismāʿīl<sup>3</sup> who, with the help of the Muslims who were with him, prevailed over the neighbouring nations which submitted to him and paid him the poll-tax (*jizya*) (p. 66). (In brief) whatever nations there are here obeyed him and paid the poll-tax, and his orders \*dominated the nations that were there.<sup>4</sup> Finally Mutawakkil sent Bughā who came to the March of Tiflis and remained there fighting (the lord of) Tiflis. He took the town by the sword and killed Iṣḥāq because he was a usurper in those parts. It would take too long to quote the reports about Iṣḥāq circulating in this country and elsewhere, among those who study the history of the world. I think he was a Qurayshite of Banū-Umayya, or their client. Since (Iṣḥāq's fall) the fear inspired by Muslims has disappeared from the March of Tiflis and the lands bordering on it have withdrawn from their allegiance. They have seized most of the estates (*diyāʾ*) of Tiflis, and the roads of access from Islamic lands leading to Tiflis through (the territories of) the infidel nations have been obstructed, for those nations surround the march.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the people of Tiflis are strong and courageous even though the kingdoms which we have mentioned encircle them.

§24. After the kingdom of Jurzān comes the country (p. 67) called ṢAMṢKHĀ<sup>6</sup> which consists of Christians and pagans and has no king.

§25. After them, between the March of Tiflis and the pass of the Castle-of-the-Alans already mentioned, lies the kingdom ṢANĀRIYA

<sup>1</sup> Here we meet the Georgian Bagratid dynasty, connected with the south-western regions of Georgia. As suggested by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 186, instead of الطيبي one should read \*المنبغى *manbaghi* (\**mam-p'ali*), which title was used by a branch of the Bagratids, cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De adm. imp.*, ch. 46: δ μαμπάλις. In fact the MS. quoted in Brosset, I, 281, gives مسمى. The change *l/g* suggests that Mas'ūdī's form has passed through an Armenian mouth.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's mosque! *Masjid* sounds like a close imitation of Georgian *Mtskheta*, though the latter ancient town (lying west of Tiflis) may have belonged to the "Abkhaz" dynasty (see below §31) and not to the south-western princes (of the Chorokh basin).

<sup>3</sup> On him see the commentary on §5 of *T.B.*

<sup>4</sup> Using the correction suggested by D. Cowan: instead of *wa 'alā* (preposition) *amrihi* read: *wa 'alā* (verb) *amruhu*. E. *wa 'atā amruhu man hunāka*?

<sup>5</sup> See *Abū-Dulaf's Travels in Iran* (towards A.D. 950), Cairo 1955, §15.

<sup>6</sup> This is Samtskhe, i.e. the region of Akhal-tsikhe on the left bank of the upper Kur.

(Ts'anar)<sup>1</sup> whose king is called *koriskūs* ("chorepiskopus"), which is the common title of those kings. They are Christians but claim to be descended from the Arabs, namely from Nizār b. Ma'add b. Muḍar, and a branch (*fakhdh*) of 'Uqayl, settled there since olden times. In this region they prevail over many (local) nations.

[There follows a digression on the 'Uqayl allied (E. *\*muḥālifatun*) to the Madhḥij whom Mas'ūdī met in the Yemen and who are the only tribe descended from Nizār established in that country].

(p. 68) The Ṣanār pretend that they separated from them in the days of old and they are those (E. *wa hum man sammaynā*) whom we named in the country of Ma'rib.

§26. After the kingdom of Ṣanār comes SHAKĪN.<sup>2</sup> These people are Christians but among them live Muslims, such as merchants and also some artisans. Their king at the present time is called \*Ādhar-Narsa b. Humām.

§27. After this comes the kingdom of \*QABALA where the townsmen are Muslims and those in the settlements and estates (*al-'amār wal-diyā'*) Christians. At the present time the name of their king is 'Anbasa-the-One-eyed,<sup>3</sup> who is a harbourer of robbers, adventurers (*sa'ālīk*) and rascals.

§28. This kingdom is adjacent to the kingdom of MŪQĀNIYA (p. 69), which we have already mentioned (see above §1) and which has submitted and has been annexed by the sharvanshah. And this is *not* the well-known principality (*mulk*) of Mūqāniya which lies on the coast of the Khazar sea.

§29. Muhammad b. Yazīd, now known as sharvānshāh, was previously the hereditary king of \*LĀYZĀN.<sup>4</sup> The king of \*Sharvān<sup>5</sup> was 'Alī b. Haytham. When he perished, Muhammad seized \*Sharvān, as we have mentioned,<sup>6</sup> after having murdered his paternal uncles. He also occupied the kingdoms to which we have referred. He possesses

<sup>1</sup> In Georgian *Ts'anar*, the spirited mountaineers in the region near the central pass of the Caucasus who later expanded eastwards into Kakhetia, see *Hudūd*, p. 400. In fact Mas'ūdī (§26) considers them as neighbours of Shakkī, i.e. confuses them with Kakhetia. The original *Ts'anar* may have been of Chechen origin. They certainly had nothing to do with Arab tribes. Cf. Minorsky, 'Caucasica (IV)' in *BSOAS*, 1953, XV/3, 505-12.

<sup>2</sup> On Shakkī see above p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> On his son 'Abd al-Barr see *T.-B.*, §§13 and 14.

<sup>4</sup> Spelt: *Lāyrān-shāh*, as if this was the name of the kingdom and not of the ruler.

<sup>5</sup> Spelt: *Sharvān-shāh*. See the preceding note and p. 144, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Mas'ūdī (in the published text) says nothing about his death, but according to our source (§9) 'Alī was killed by Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd.

a castle in the mountains of Qabkh called \*Niyāl (spelt: *Thiyāl*).<sup>1</sup> No stronger castle is mentioned among the strongholds of the world, save for a castle lying in the province of Fars in the direction of Sīrāf on the coast (of the Persian Gulf) at a place called Zīr-bād and belonging to 'Abdullāh b. 'Umāra. This latter fortress is named \*Dīgdān<sup>2</sup> (p. 69).

[There follows a reference to the book *Akhhār al-qilā'* by Abul-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī]. (p. 70) This is a brief description of the town of al-Bāb wal-abwāb, the Wall and Mt. Qabkh, as well as of the nations living in this region.

[There follows a criticism of Ibn Khurdādhbih's *al-Masālik wal-mamālik*, "which gives no information on the princes and their states" (pp. 70-72)].

§30. (p. 72). Had God not assisted the kings of Persia (*mulūk al-Furs*) with His omniscience and grace in the building of the town of al-Bāb and its walls on land, in the sea and on the mountains, and of other castles, and in the settling here of people of various nations and in the appointing of kings (of various ranks)—the kings of the Khazars, the Alāns, the Sarīr and the Turks and other nations we have mentioned would certainly have reached the provinces of Barda'a, al-Rān (Arran), Baylaqān, Azarbayjān, Zanjān, Abhar, Qazvīn, Hamadān, Daynavar, Nihāvand and other places which we have mentioned among the temporary encampments (*mabādī*) of Kūfa and Baṣra, down to Iraq.<sup>3</sup> Howbeit, God has repelled them (*ṣadda*) by the means we have mentioned (and this is particularly important) in the present days of the weakness of Islam (under the caliph al-Muttaqī billāh, 329-33/940-4) . . . <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Indeed Mt. Niyāl overlooks the present-day Lāhīj which corresponds to the ancient Lāyzān.

<sup>2</sup> Tomaschek, 'Die Küstenfahrt Nearchs', *Sitz. W.A.*, 1890, 44, identifies Dīgdān with Qal'a-Listān, near Bandar-Kung.

<sup>3</sup> The passage (omitted in *E.*) may contain some vague recollections of the Khazar invasion after the death of Jarrāh which penetrated as far as Mosul, see Ibn al-Athīr under the year 112/730, or that under Hārūn al-Rashīd in 183/799. The text is obscure. *Tarīdu bilād Bardha'a . . . wa Daynavar wa Nihāwand wa ghayra mā dhakarnā min mabādī (?) al-Kūfa wal-Baṣra ilā al-'Irāq*. Barbier de Meynard: "et les autres pays qui, par Koufah et Basrah, donnent accès dans Nihavand et Irak" (?). I am following the suggestion of my friend M. William Marçais, who explains *mabādā* (from the root *bāw*) as a temporary halt of the nomads on their travel to the *mahḍar* (places with more water): "et les autres choses citées parmi les zones de parcours temporaires annexes de Koufa et de Baṣra". The fact is that Daynavar (called *Māh al-Kūfa* "the Media of Kufa") and Nihāvand, called *Māh al-Baṣra*, formed a kind of dependencies of the two Mesopotamian towns. This may have something to do with Mas'ūdī's reference but the passage to which he refers (*mā dhakarnā*) is not in the *Murūj* and this accounts for our difficulty.

<sup>4</sup> The complaint of the usurpation of local rulers (*taghallub*) may echo the rise of the Daylamite power which in 332/943 was in full swing.

(P. 74) There remain numerous reports about al-Bāb and the wonderful buildings which Qubādh b. Fīrūz, father of Kisrā Anūshirvān, erected at a place called Masqaṭ and which consist of a town built of stone;<sup>1</sup> about the walls which he built in Sharvān which are known as *Sūr al-Tīn* ("wall-of-clay"); about a stone wall known as Barmakī<sup>2</sup> and about (the remains) which adjoin<sup>3</sup> the region of Barda'a. We have refrained from mentioning it all for we had spoken of it in our previous compositions.<sup>4</sup>

§31. The river KURR comes from the country of Jurzān belonging to king Jurjīn (Gurgen)<sup>5</sup> and flows through the lands of Abkhāz (*sic*) until it reaches the March of Tiflis which it cuts (p. 75) through its middle. Then it flows past the lands of the \*Siyāvurdiya,<sup>6</sup> who are a kind of

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the town of Fīrūzqubādh, or Fīrūzābādh, see my *Studies*, p. 7. The name of the present-day town of Qubā may reflect the name of Qubādh.

<sup>2</sup> Barmakī is a district (*maḥall*) in the southern part of the former khanate of Qubā.

<sup>3</sup> *wa mā yattaṣilu* (?).

<sup>4</sup> Traces of long walls, subsidiary to those of Darband, have been found along the rivers Samūr and Gilgīn-chay and also near Mt. Besh-barmaq, see *Pamiatniki istorii Azerbayjana*, Baku 1956, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Mas'ūdī distinguishes between the sources of the Kur which he places in the country of Jurzān in the kingdom of Jurjīn, and its following stretch within the dominions of the Abkhāz, before it reaches the "March of Tiflis". In the ninth-century the central part of the Georgian lands was split between the branches of the Bagratid house (those of Iberia, Tao and Artanuj). Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 176, recognised in Jurjīn Gurgen Magister (surnamed the Great) who ruled in Tao, in 918-41. Kola, where the sources of the Kur lie, see Minorsky, in *Jour. As.* July 1930, 107-11, belonged normally to Iberia but in view of its position (immediately north of Tao situated on the eastern branch of the Chorokh) Mas'ūdī's reference to Jurjīn, if approximate, is not inexact. The second reference to the Abkhāz kingdom can be explained by the fact that in the first part of the tenth century Karthli was annexed by the rulers of the westernmost Georgian kingdom, of the so-called "Abkhazian dynasty", see Brosset, I, 277, 287. Mas'ūdī either refers to this fact, or again points *approximately* to the direction in which the Kur flowed between Kola and Tiflis. The latter city was in the hands of the Arab amir Ja'far b. 'Alī. I am very grateful to Prof. Cyril Toumanoff who has communicated to me quotations from his unpublished book on the Iberian Bagratids in which he corrects a number of oversights in Marquart's Georgian genealogies.

<sup>6</sup> According to Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *De admin. imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, Budapest 1949, §38, the old name of the "Turks" (here: Hungarians) was *Σάβαιοι ἄσφαλοι* "the white Sabartians". Under the pressure of the Pechenegs, one part of the Hungarians moved westwards, whereas the other "settled in a region of Persia," possibly about the middle of the eighth century. These Hungarians (later Christianised and Armenicised) are the people called in Armenian *Sevordik* ("Black Sons"—a popular etymology), and *Sāwardiyya*, *Siyāwardiyya* in Arabic. Their centre was at Tavus (halfway between Ganja and Tiflis). See the bibliography in Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 223, cf. J. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 36, 38, and Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 26, 74.

Armenians and are brave and strong, as we have mentioned in our report on them.<sup>1</sup> With them are connected the battle-axes known as *\*siyāvurdā* and used by the *\*spāsīg*<sup>2</sup> and other (elements) of the non-Arab levies (*jund*). The river Kurr arrives at a place situated at three *mīl* from Barda'a, passes by Bardāj, one of the districts of Barda'a, and then in the region of al-Šanāra<sup>3</sup> is joined by the river RASS (Araxes).

This latter begins from (the neighbourhood of) the town Trebizond and flows on until it has joined the Kurr. Their united waters disembogue into the Khazar sea on which their estuary lies. In its course the Araxes flows (between) the region of al-Badhdhayn, which the Khurramite Bābak occupied in Azarbayjan, and the mountains of Abū-Mūsā<sup>4</sup> belonging to Arrān. These highlands are inhabited by a tribe belonging to the nations of Arrān—the latter being a country (*saq'*) by itself. The Araxes flows past the town Warthān<sup>5</sup> and then to the aforementioned place of its confluence with the Kurr (p. 76), near the village of Šanāra.

[(p. 76) There follows a description of the river Safīd-rūd in the Daylam country, after which Mas'ūdī sums up the history of the Suryānī kings].

<sup>1</sup> Apparently in some other work.

<sup>2</sup> *\*Sibāsija*, from Middle-Persian *\*spāsīg*, would mean "guardians" established by the Sasanians along the Caucasian *limes* (Marquart). The text, II, 75, has *Siyābija*, which is the name of an Indonesian nation (Çrivijaya) and has no sense in this context, see above p. 14. On the use of battle-axes see *T.-B.*, §13.

<sup>3</sup> This Šanāra (perhaps *\*Chināra*?) corresponds to the present-day Javād and has nothing to do with the Šanār (Ts'anar) living north of Tiflis, see above §25. [Most probably *صناره* is but a mis-spelling of *جواد* under the influence of the preceding (§25) name of *الصنارية*.]

<sup>4</sup> 'Isā, called Abū-Mūsā, was the Albanian prince who in his castle Xtiš (Tabari, III, 1416, *K. thish*) opposed Bughā and after surrender was sent to 'Irāq in A.D. 854 (?), see Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, 1953, XV/3, 512.

<sup>5</sup> Now the ruins of Altan on the right bank of the Araxes, cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), p. 8: *Altān*, read *Altān*, as in the Russian trans., p. 67, and Minorsky, *Abu-Dulaf's travels in Iran*, Cairo 1955, p. 75.

## ANNEX IV

### IBN-RUSTA ON DAGHESTAN

The report on the Caucasian lands included in Ibn-Rusta's *al-A'lāq al-nafīsa*, 147-8, is considerably earlier than Mas'ūdī's description. Ibn-Rusta is supposed to have completed his work *circa* 300/912, and his references, so far as they can be checked, are not later than 290/902. The words *qāla wa sa'altuhum* "he said: I asked them", inserted in the passage translated below, suggest that Ibn-Rusta<sup>1</sup> used a report by some original traveller who probably visited al-Sarīr. We do not know who he was, but can safely assume that he travelled at least fifty years before Mas'ūdī wrote his *Murūj al-dhahab* (in 332/943).

A slightly divergent Persian translation of the report used by Ibn-Rusta is found in Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhhbār* (towards A.D. 1050-2), the relevant part of which was published by Barthold in 1897. Gardīzī does not mention Ibn-Rusta and it is likely that he got his quotations through Jayhānī's *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* (early tenth century A.D.) now lost. Some reminiscences of the same original report can be discovered (in a very abridged form) in the anonymous *Hudūd al-'ālam* (372/982), transl. by Minorsky, §§48, 49. Each of the mentioned authors (I. Rusta, Gardīzī and the *Hudūd*) add some details which apparently belonged to the basic report but did not present an equal interest for each of the compilers. The original traveller was particularly attracted by the strange habits and customs of the Daghestanian peoples, such as the funeral ceremonies of the Sarīrians, the veneration of trees, the mixture of religions in Khaydān (\*Khaydāq) and the relations of the Sarīr with some vassal tribes. I have tried to explain the story of the gigantic "flies" (*magas*), preserved in the *Hudūd*, by some reminiscences of the name of the Alān capital \**Magas*,<sup>2</sup> and should now like to stress the support which the other stories find in the Armenian historian Moses Kalankatvats'i, in his report on the missions of the bishop Israel to the Huns (i.e. some Khazar vassals of Northern Daghestan). According to this author in 681 (corresponding to A.H. 62) the "Huns" of Varach'an (see above p. 93) were converted to Christianity and abandoned their heathen rituals at the cemeteries where "numerous groups wrestled among themselves and performed for the orgy swift gallops on horseback,

<sup>1</sup> Who himself was *not* a traveller.

<sup>2</sup> See 'The Alan capital Magas', in *BSOS*, XIV/2, pp. 221-38, and see above p. 107.



wheeling this way and that.”<sup>1</sup> Further (II, ch. 41, as translated by Patkanian) the author tells how the bishop gave orders to fell the “mother of the tall trees to which sacrifices were offered in the name of the worthless idols . . . . The prince and the nobles venerated it as the saviour of the gods, giver of life and of all the graces. They worshipped these tall and thick-leaved oaks, as (if they were) the wicked idol, Aspandiat, and offered to the latter sacrifices of horses whose blood they poured round the trees and whose heads and skins they hung on the branches . . .”.

Under the heading *al-Sarīr*, “kingdom of the Throne”, Ibn-Rusta speaks actually of several principalities. Khaydān (\*Khaydāq) must have been independent from the Sarīr. The allegiance of RNJS (mentioned also in the *Ḥudūd* and several times in *Tarīkh al-Bāb*)<sup>2</sup> is not quite clear. The text suggests that it lay at the distance of 10 farshakhs from the Sarīr capital, along the way to Khaydāq (cf. above p. 102, n. 2).

Ibn-Rusta’s text is more explicit about the authority of the Sarīr extending over the “castle of Alāl and Ghūmīk”. The Ghūmīk (Qumukh, now Lak) living on the eastern branch of the Qoy-su could easily have been vassals of the Sarīr. *Alāl* is a puzzle though several names ending in *-al*<sup>3</sup> are known in Avaria (Bagulal, Chamalal, Andalal). Our Alāl may represent \*Andalal, an Avar community established on the upper course of the Qara Qoy-su.<sup>4</sup> East of it, behind a mountain, flows the Qumukh Qoy-su.

We now give the translation of I. Rusta’s text which is more complete than the version of the *Ḥudūd* and Gardīzī, and yet is only a drastic epitome in which some important facts have survived in a disconnected form.

#### 1. *al-Sarīr* (p. 147)

“You travel from the Khazar to the Sarīr twelve days in open country (*ṣahrā*), then you ascend a high mountain (and cross) valleys for three (?) days before reaching the Castle of the King which stands on the top of a mountain and occupies an area of 4 farsakhs by 4 farsakhs and is surrounded by a stone wall.<sup>5</sup> The king possesses a golden throne (*sarīr*)

<sup>1</sup> Moses Kalankatvats’i, II, ch. 40, as translated by Mr. C. Dowsett who has prepared a new edition of the book. R. Blechsteiner’s ‘Rossweihe und Pferdrennen im Totenkult d. Kaukasischen Völker’, in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte*, IV, is inaccessible to me.

<sup>2</sup> *R.nj..s*, *D.bh.h.s*, to be restored as \**Dibgash* (?) now Dibgasha, see above p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> In Avar and Andi *-l* or *-al* is the suffix of plural, see Dirr, *Einführung*, 1928, p. 165, 185.

<sup>4</sup> Chokh is its centre.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Khunzakh situated on a plateau above the left bank of the Avar Qoy-su, see above p. 155.

and a silver throne.<sup>1</sup> All the inhabitants of the castle are Christians but all the other inhabitants of the country are heathens. The king possesses 20,000 valleys (*shī'b*)<sup>2</sup> inhabited by various classes (*ṣunūf*) of people who have there estates and villages (*ḍiyā' wa qurā*). All of them worship a dried head.<sup>3</sup>

When someone among them dies, they place him on a bier (*janāza*) and take him out to the public place, where he is left for three days on the bier. Then the inhabitants of the town mount and don breastplates (*jaushan*) and coats of mail. They go to the end of the public place and with their spears swoop down upon the dead man (lying) on the bier. They circle round the bier pointing their spears at the body but without thrusting at it. (The informant) says:<sup>4</sup> 'I asked them about what they were doing and they said: "one of our men died and was buried but after three days he shouted from his grave."<sup>5</sup> Therefore we keep our dead for three days and on the fourth frighten him with our arms in order that his spirit, if it had gone up (*urija-bihi*) should return to his body". And this has been their practice for 300 years.<sup>6</sup> Their king is called *Awār*."<sup>7</sup>

To the right (i.e. east)<sup>8</sup> of the castle there is a road by which one can travel (from the Sarīr) among high mountains and numerous thickets for a distance of twelve stages until one reaches the town called Ḥaydān (حیدان read خیداق \* Khaydāq) whose king is called Ādhar-Narsē.<sup>9</sup> He adheres (*yatamassak*) to three religions: on Fridays he prays with the Muslims, on Saturdays with the Jews and on Sundays (p. 148) with the Christians. And (to) all who visit him he (explains) his claim (?)<sup>10</sup> saying: 'each group of these religions calls (people) to its own faith and claims that truth is with them and that any other religion but his own is a lie, but I adhere to all of them in order to reach the truth of all religions'.

<sup>1</sup> Gardīzī: "the king sits on the golden throne and his companions (*nadīmān*) on a silver throne".

<sup>2</sup> Gar.: "20,000 tribes (*qabīla*)".

<sup>3</sup> Apparently some (Christian) relic. Gar.: "worship a lion (شیر), a mis-spelling of \* سر "a head".

<sup>4</sup> I.-R.: *wa-qāla*; Gardīzī: *va chunīn gūyaḍ*.

<sup>5</sup> Gardīzī: "he said: 'the soul had left me (I lost consciousness) and you put me in the grave; while I was in the grave, my soul returned to me'". This may be some echo of the resurrection of Christ.

<sup>6</sup> Which would take us to *circa* A.D. 600?

<sup>7</sup> Gar.: *Avāz* (Cambr. MS.: *Āvāz*). Note that this name does not cover the local population.

<sup>8</sup> See below: left = west.

<sup>9</sup> Gardīzī abridges: "to the right of Sarīr there is a province called J.NDĀN and its people profess three religions". According to the *Ḥudūd*, §49, KH.NDĀN is the residence of the sipah-sālārs of the king of the Sarīr.

<sup>10</sup> Gar.: "and if someone asks them".

At a distance of 10 farsakhs from his town<sup>1</sup> there is a town called RNĤS (RNJS?) in which there stands an enormous tree bearing no fruit. The inhabitants of the town gather (round) it on Wednesdays<sup>2</sup> and hang on it various kinds of fruit and bow down to it and offer sacrifices.

The king of the Sarīr has (another) very strong castle called al-Āl (\*Alāl) and Ghūmīk,<sup>3</sup> very strong. There is his treasury and this castle was given to him by Anūshirvān".<sup>4</sup>

## 2. *al-Lān (Alān)*

"Travelling to the left (to the west) of the kingdom of the Sarīr you journey among mountains and meadows for three days and arrive in the kingdom of al-Lān (Alān). The Alān king is a Christian at heart, but all the people of his kingdom are heathens worshipping idols. Then<sup>5</sup> you travel for ten days among rivers and trees before reaching the castle called 'The Gate of the Alāns'. It stands on the top of a mountain and under the mountain there runs a road. The castle is surrounded by high mountains and its walls are guarded every day by 1,000 men from among its inhabitants posted by day and by night.<sup>6</sup>

The Alāns consist of four tribes but their honour and kingship (are concentrated) in one of them called DĤSĀS (\**Rukhs-Ās*, *Roxalani*?).<sup>7</sup> The king of the Alans is called B.GHĀY.R (read: *Baghātar*)<sup>8</sup> which (name) applies to every one of their kings.

The town of al-Bāb wal-Abwāb stretches from the top of Mt. Qabq to the Khazar sea and protrudes into the sea for 3 *mīls*."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gar.: "at ten farsakhs from 'Amrīn". *Hudūd*, §49, says that R.BKH.S (or D.BKH.S) and Masqat are two prosperous towns. For the geographical analysis see above p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Gar. omits.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted in Gar. \*Ghumīk is an ingenious restoration by de Geoe while the MS. has *wa-'Admyk*. On Ghūmīk (Qumukh) see above, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted in Gar. *Hudūd*, §49, adds the story of the gigantic flies in the mountains of the Sarīr, see above p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> Gar.: "from this frontier."

<sup>6</sup> Gar.: "and 1,000 men guard this fortress in turns, day and night"; *ditto* in *Hudūd*. Cf. Mas'ūdi, II, 43.

<sup>7</sup> Distinct from R.NJ.S/D.BKH.S quoted under the Sarīr.

<sup>8</sup> The title \**baghatar* is attested in the Georgian Chronicle, ed. 1955, I, 261, Brosset, I, 274, *Baqat'ar*, and in an inscription *Бакаѳар*. The title may be cognate with the Turkish *bahadur* which itself is of uncertain origin. According to Ibn A'tham, the name of the Khazar king who was converted to Islam was *بغاطر*, see A. N. Kurat, in *Ankara Universitesi Dil-Tarih Fakültesi dergisi*, 1949, VII/2, pp. 265, 281. Read: *بغاطر*.

<sup>9</sup> The last two paragraphs are omitted in Gardizi.

## ANNEX V

### IBN AL-AZRAQ'S VISIT TO DARBAND IN 549/1154

Elsewhere I have tried to show what an unexpected source of information on the Caucasus is the *History of Mayyāfāriqīn* by Ibn al-Azraq. In addition to the texts already analysed,<sup>1</sup> his book contains a very curious report on Darband in 549/1154, as an appendix to an account of the revolt of al-Mukhtār in Mesopotamia (66–7/685–7) (Br. Mus. Or. 5803, f. 63b–64b). The author, who himself displays his pro-Alid inclinations, describes the capture and execution of the murderers of the imām Husayn (such as Shimar, etc.). Some of the guilty men had escaped to Khorasan but, on Mukhtār's instructions, were defeated by his (?) representative and returned to Arduvīl (Ardabīl) in Azarbayjan, whence they made for the *rustāq* (district) of "Madīnat al-Bāb, i.e. Darband" and since then stayed there, namely "at a distance of 10 farsakhs outside (beyond) the town, in the middle of the mountain (*alā wasaṭ al-jabal*) where they built two large villages".

Then Ibn al-Azraq proceeds (f. 64a): "And I saw them in the year 549/1154, because I had travelled to the town Tiflis and spent there a winter. Then I entered the service of the king of Abkhāz, lord of Tiflis, and together with him took part (in the expedition) of his army. The king moved from one side to another and from one place to another within his dominions. And I was with the king and we spent some days in the region (*wilāya*) of Darband-i Khazarān (spelt: *Khayzarān*) which they say was first built by the Chosroes Qubādh. The king left his army in a valley (*marj*, or a tower—*burj*?) near the mountain. And the malik of Darband Amīr Abul-Muzaffar came out to present his respects to the king of Abkhaz and carried to him servants (and things necessary for) his sojourn and feasts, for he was the son-in-law (*ṣihr*) of the king of Abkhāz being married to the latter's daughter. And the king of Abkhāz was Dimitri, son of David, the Davidian,<sup>2</sup> having the title of Ḥusām al-Masīh ('The Sword of Messiah'). The king and his army stayed in

<sup>1</sup> 'Caucasica in the history of Mayyāfāriqīn', *BSOAS*, 1949, XIII/1, 27–35, and 'Studies in Caucasian History', 1953, 79–106. The passage translated below was first treated by my late friend M. M. Goma'a in *al-Mustami' al-'Arabī*, 1944, V, No. 11, p. 12. The passages on Georgia have been reproduced in Prof. G. Ts'eret'eli's *Arabulī k'westomat'ia*, Tiflis 1949, 68–75 (an Arabic reader for Georgian students).

<sup>2</sup> The Bagratids were said to be issued from the prophet David. These kings of Georgia (Jurz) were called kings of Abkhāz because of their family links with the ruling house of Abkhazia (on the Black sea coast), see above p. 84.

that valley (tower?), and I with them, and there hardly had passed an hour when from the above mentioned villages a crowd came to the army. I saw a man pass by the place where I was and he was speaking in Arabic. I was astonished and said to him: 'Wherefrom art thou, o young man, for I have not seen in this land anyone speaking Arabic (*musta'rib*)?' He answered: 'I am from that village' and he pointed to the village on a crag amid the mountains. I said: 'And wherefrom this Arabic speech?' He said: 'Both I and everybody else in the village are Arabs and we speak Arabic'. I said: 'And how long (*li-kam*) have you been here?' He replied: 'We came here approximately five hundred years ago, more or less'. I said: 'Of which Arabs are you?' He said: 'We are of Banū-Umaya, Kinda and other tribes and we are (now) mixed'. I asked: 'What brought you to these parts?' He replied: 'I do not know'. I said: 'No doubt, you are from the murderers of Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, from those who fled from Mukhtār ibn Abī \*'Ubayd.' He said: 'Whence is this information?' I said: 'From written reports concerning a group of the murderers of Ḥusayn who fled to Darband'.<sup>1</sup> Then a night passed and on the following morning there came before me a man with a crowd and we conversed for some time. Among them was an old man called Muhammad ibn 'Amrān, and I began questioning him on their sojourn in that country, and how it was that they had settled in it and did not go back. He said: '(This place) has become our country (*waṭan*)'. I said: 'And how is it that you have not forgotten Arabic?' He said: 'We commend it to each other (f. 64b) and we do not forsake Arabic; and every woman addresses a child only in Arabic and the child grows up with Arabic'. I said: 'And what is your condition here?' He said: 'It is good; we have nothing to do with the others and this land belongs to us for a distance of 5 farsakhs by 5 farsakhs and we sow what we require and no one opposes us. This amir of Darband treats us with every consideration (*yuhṣinu murā'ātānā*) and gives us what we want in abundance. And thus it was under every ruler, with us enjoying an excellent position'. Then he added: 'Know that we fled from Mukhtār \*b. Abī 'Ubayd, and another tribe fled from him, and neither we nor they fell (into his hands?). Do you know where those relatives (of ours went) (?) and what is their attitude towards this place (here)?' And I said that the other group (*al-iṣāba*) had fled to Mosul and the mountains of al-Jazīra and that Mukhtār sent orders to Ibrāhīm al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ī and he marched against them; they were defeated and fled to the province of Mifarqīn (*sic*).<sup>2</sup> Then he sent orders to 'Abdullāh b. Musāwir and he also chased them and they

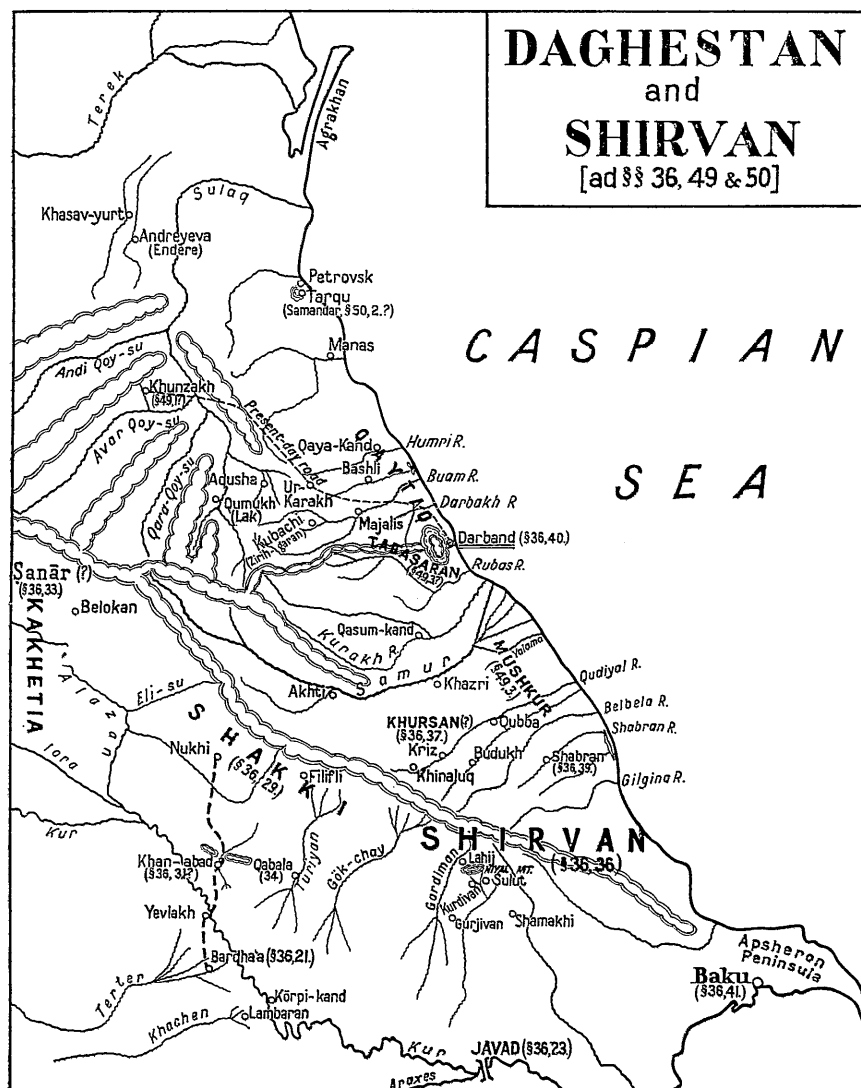
<sup>1</sup> Thus clearly the explanation is suggested by Ibn al-Azraq himself.

<sup>2</sup> This vulgar form seems to reflect the Syriac form *Mīphērqēi*.

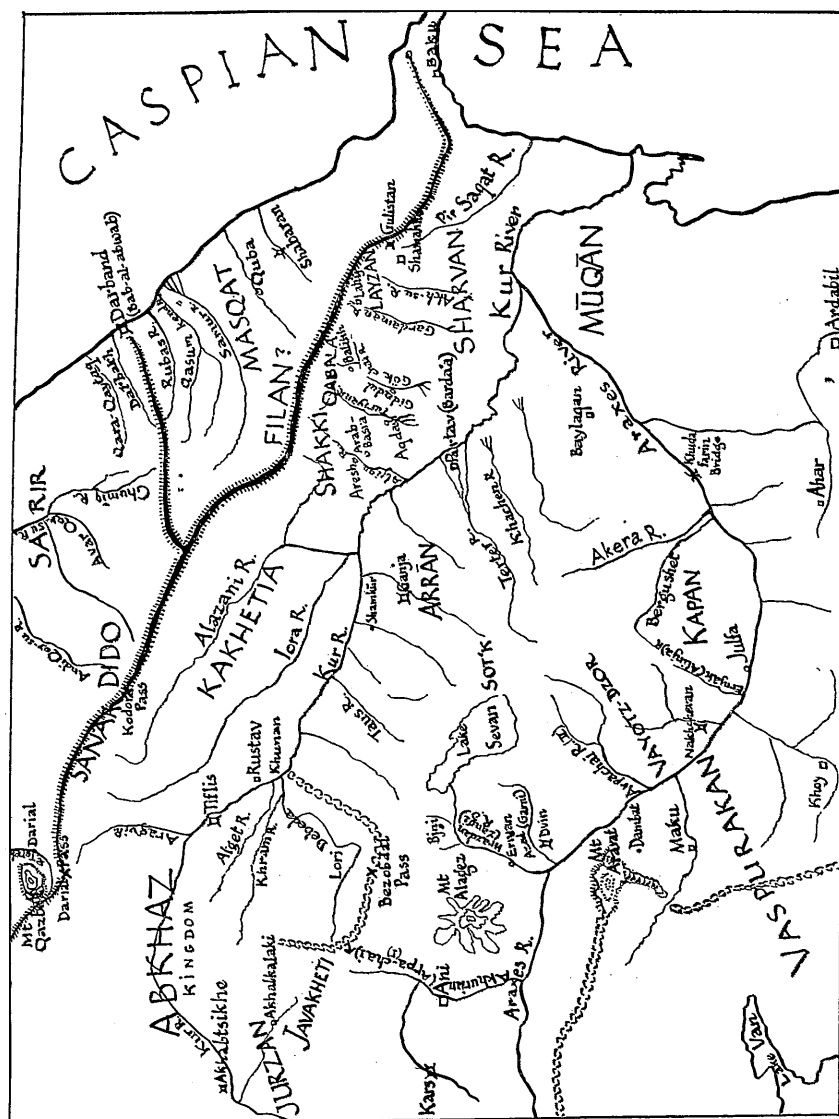
fled to the mountain of the Sanāsina, an Armenian tribe, above (to the north of) Mifarqīn and remained with their king \*Sanhārīb. He said: 'This is right, but have any of their descendants survived now?' And I said: 'Yes, and they have survived as a tribe of Armenians'. They spent that day with me and then left (for the mountains), while I stayed with the army at that place for a couple of days, after which we departed."

Ibn al-Azraq's personal experience is very interesting but his attempt to connect the Arabs living outside Darband with the murderers of Ḥusayn, as suggested to him by his readings, is suspect. According to Ṭabari, II, 661 (whose authority is Abū Mikhnaf), the envoys of Mukhtār captured Shimar (in Persian *Shimr*) Ibn Abī-Jaushān near Sātīdamā (?) and the village called al-Kaltāniya. Cf. also I. Athīr, IV, 195. Yāqūt, IV, 299, in mentioning al-Kaltāniya refers to a *History of Baṣra* but does not exactly locate this village. For Sātīdamā, II, 6, his information is still more diffuse: according to some of his sources, it was the name of the mountain range encircling the earth; according to al-Kiasrawī, it was a river, or a valley (*wādī*) to which the river of Mayyāfāriqīn belonged. Yāqūt's report was commented on, with prodigious erudition, by Marquart, *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen*, 1930, p. 216, etc., who identified the Sātīdamā river with the Ilije-su (one of the headwaters of the Tigris) and the homonymous mountain approximately with the Ḥamrīn range (older Bārimmā). In any case the field of Mukhtār's operations was definitely towards Baṣra (in the south-east) but the historian of Mayyāfāriqīn may have understood \**Sātīdamā* (in Syriac "drinker of blood") as referring to the river near his native town and connected the remnants of the anti-Alid band with the neighbouring highlands of Sasun (which formed a special Armenian principality called in Arabic *al-Sanāsina*). We know of numerous groups of Arabs settled near al-Bāb. Among them there *may* have been some refugees from Mukhtār, but Ibn al-Azraq seems to have prompted his preconceived theory to his interlocutors, whose family traditions, after a five hundred years' sojourn in Daghestan, could not have been fresh.

For our special purpose at this place, it is important that in 549/1154 the ruler of Darband was Abul-Muṣaffar and that he had family links with king Dimitri.



References are to the §§ of the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*



See *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 78.



#### ADDITIONAL NOTE

*Ad. p. 1, para. (D). Read:* Nos. 3171-2. Dr. A. Dietrich has recently described the five MSS. of Münejjim-bashī's History available in the libraries of Istanbul—see *Orientalia*, Rome 1958, vol. 27, fasc. 3, pp. 262-8. In particular he has studied the MS. of *Nur-i Osmaniye*, No. 3171-2, which has proved to be the author's own draft.

Dr. Dietrich has fully collated the *Nur-i Osmaniye* MS. with the text of the Chapter on the Shaddādids (published by me in my *Studies on Caucasian History*, 1955). The collation has brought a new crop of variants, some of which had been foreshadowed in my notes. In the case of this and the other fragments of the 11th century *Ta'rikh Bāb al-abwāb*, incorporated in Münejjim-bashī's work, the complexity of the task is not in the text itself, which is simple and direct, but in the mass of local names and terms. For them Münejjim-bashī (who died in A.D. 1702) cannot offer us great guidance and we have to check and explain the text with the help of other auxiliary means at our disposal.

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\* Prepared by Mrs. T. A. Minorsky

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فصول من

# تأريخ الباب وشروان

ألفت حوالي عام ٤٩٨ هـ

وهي موجودة في كتاب جامع الدول  
لأحمد بن لطف الله المعروف بمنجم باشي

اعتنى بنشرها والتعليق عليها

و. مينورسكي

الاستاذ بجامعة لندن

الفقرة السادسة في ملوك شروان وباب الأبواب على كلمتين.

الكلمة الأولى في المتقدمين منهم الذين كانوا من فروع العباسية العراقية وإنما أخرناهم إلى هنا إذ لم نظفر بهم إلا عند بلوغ التحرير إلى هذا المحل الذي هو موضع ذكر المتأخرين منهم فذكرناهم قبل ذكرهم في حرفين.

الحرف الأول من ملوك شروان يقال لكل من ملك شروان شروانشاه وهم ؟ نفر دارملكهم شروان وأول ظهورهم في سنة ؟ وانقراضهم في سنة ؟ ومدة ملكهم ؟ سنة.

1 § أول من ولي آذربيجان وأرمينية وأران وباب الأبواب منهم هو يزيد ابن مزيد بن زائدة بن عبد الله بن زائدة بن مطرب بن شريك بن الصلت، واسمه عمرو بن قيس بن شرحبيل (كذا) بن همام بن مرة بن ذهل بن شيان الشيباني، وهو ابن أخي معن بن زائدة المعروف بالجوذ والكرم، وكان يزيد هذا من الأمراء المشهورين والشجعان المعروفين، كان واليا بأرمينية فعزله منها هارون الرشيد (A1051a) في سنة ١٧٢ ثم ولّاه إياها وضم إليها آذربيجان وشروان وباب الأبواب في سنة ١٨٣ بعد أن ظهرت منه خدمات مبرورة ومساع مشكورة في الظفر \* بالوليد بن طريف<sup>١</sup> الشيباني الخارجي وقتله في سنة ١٧٨، لأن \* الوليد هذا كان خارجياً متعصباً، فخرج على هارون وأعلن العصيان فكثرت جموعه في بلاد الجزيرة واستولى عليها وعظم خطبه واشتد فسادُه على البلاد<sup>٢</sup> حتى أرسل هارون يزيد بن مزيد في جمع إلى دفعه، وأعطاه عند بعثه ذا الفقار سيف رسول الله صلعم ثم علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه، فسار يزيد إليه وجرت بينهما حروب شديدة كرة بعد أخرى ثم تبارزا فغلب عليه (كذا) يزيد وقطع رجله ثم اجتزأ رأسه في موضع الحديثة من أرض الجزيرة في سنة ١٧٨ وقيل سنة ١٧٩ فعلت رتبته عند هارون، فولّاه الولايات التي سبق ذكرها آنفاً في سنة ١٨٣ فسار إليها يزيد واستمر على أحسن سيرة وأعدلها حتى توفي في

شرح الرموز: ١ = النسخة - رقم ٢٩٥٤ ب = النسخة - رقم ٥٠١٩ \* = إشارة إلى أن الكلمة التي تليها مصححة.

١ اوب - بطريف بن الوليد. ٢ ب - مدة وكسر عسكر هرون مرة بعد أخرى حتى أرسل الخ.



بردعة من آذربيجان في حدود سنة ١٨٥، وحكي أنه بينما هو يأكل الطعام أهديت له جارية حسناء فرجع الطعام فباشرها فلم ينزل عنها إلا ميتاً وهو ببردعة، ودفن فيها كذا نقل ابن خلكان من كتاب الأغاني فزاه الشعراء بقصائد بليغة.

§ 2 وكان (B720) ليزيد ولدان نجيبان جليلان سيدان: أحدهما خالد بن يزيد وهو ممدوح أبي تمام الطائي صاحب الحماسة والآخر محمد بن يزيد وكان موصوفاً بفرط الجود والكرم لم يصدر منه كلمة «لا» قط، وكان خالد والياً على الموصل لما توفي والده يزيد فبقي عليها واستعمل على آذربيجان وأران وأرمينية من قبيل الخليفة أمراء واحد بعد واحد إلى أن كانت سنة ٢٠٥ ففيها استعمل المأمون خالد بن يزيد بن مزيد الشيباني على آذربيجان وأران وأرمينية وسيّره إليها فخرج من طاعته أهل شكّي وقتلوا عامله عليهم فخرج خالد لقتالهم فيبتوه، فظفر بهم وأكثر قتلهم ثم استأمنوا على أن يعطوا خمسمائة ألف درهم كل سنة واخذ رهائنهم ثم انصرف عنهم وانتقضت عليه جرزان فخرج إليها وحارب الصنارية بها وظفر بهم وقتل كثيراً منهم ثم اخذ رهائن منهم فصلبهم، ثم انصرف إلى ناحية دّيبيل وبقي خالد فيها إلى أن صُرف عنها في حدود سنة ٢٢٠ بعد موت المأمون.

§ 3 فأقطع المعتصم تلك البلاد لأكبر غلامه الأفشين، وكان قد ظهرت في بلاد آذربيجان فتنة بابل الحرّمي الزنديق، فقتل فيها عالم عظيم إلى أن ظفربه الأفشين في حدود سنة ٢٢٥ فقتل بأنواع السياسة في سر من رأى كما مرّ في موضعه.

§ 4 وبقي خالد معزولاً إلى أن توفي المعتصم في حدود سنة ٢٢٧ وتولّى الخلافة ولده الواثق وبلغه وقوع الهرج في بلاد أرمينية بسبب عصيان إسحاق ابن إسماعيل والي تفليس فدعا خالد بن يزيد فولّاه آذربيجان وأران وأعطاه خمسمائة ألف دينار أرزاق الجند ووصله بألف ألف درهم معونةً وسيّر معه اثني عشر ألف فارس مجهّزين بجهاز، وأمره بمحاربة (A1051b) إسحاق بن إسماعيل ودفع غائلته فسار خالد ودخل أرمينية على طريق أرزن ودرّب بدليس وسار إلى أخلاط من عمل أرمينية، وأقام بها أياماً حتى أتاه من أتاه من البطارقة وعسكر أرمينية \* عشرون ألف مقاتل، فأقام بها أياماً فخرج فيهم وتوجّه نحو إسحاق فدخل عمل جرزان وصار إلى موضع يقال له \* جَوَاح

واشتكى فيها يومين ثم مات بها، وحُمل منصرفاً فدفن في \* دبيل<sup>١</sup> أرمينية من عمل سنباط بن أشوط صاحب \* الأرمن<sup>٢</sup> وكان ذلك في سنة ٢٣٠ وقيل سنة ٢٢٨.<sup>٣</sup>

٥ § وخلف خالد هذا أربعة أولاد ذكور محمد (و) علي (و) يزيد (و) الهيثم وكان عليّ معه عند وفاته، فاستخلفه على العسكر عند اشتداد المرض به واحتضاره، فدخل علي مع العسكر مدينة دبيل وقد شذّ منه من شذّ وبقي من بقي، وكان أكبر أولاده محمد غائباً عنه، والياً على الجزيرة، فأرسل إليه الواصل يعزيه بأبيه ويأمره بأن يسير ويقوم مقامه ويحارب إسحاق، فسار محمد بن خالد وتولّى بتلك البلاد في سنة ٢٣٠ فاجتمع عليه الجند فسار فيهم وقاتل إسحاق مرة بعد أخرى حتى انكسر منه ولم يمكن له فيه شيء، فدخل بردعة وأقام فيها وصُرف عن الولاية في هذه السنة ببغّ الشراي، ثم استخلف ببغّا عليها حمدويه بن علي، ثم ولي عليها بعد موت الواصل في سنة ٢٣١ محمد بن يوسف، ثم ابنه يوسف بن محمد فقام البطارقة الأرمينية بالعصيان ووثبوا عليه فقاتلهم يوسف حتى أسر وقتل صبراً، ثم أرسل المتوكل في سنة ٢٣٧ (B721) أبا موسى ببغّا الكبير التركي في جمع من الجيش، فأكثر القتل في الأرمن وبطارقهم، وفي هذه السنة أقطع المتوكل محمد بن خالد مدينة باب الأبواب وأعمالها وسار محمد مع ببغّا الكبير إلى قتال إسحاق حتى ظفربه ببغّا بعد حروب كثيرة جرت بينهم فقتله وصلب جسده بباب صغد، وأنفذ أهله وأولاده إلى المتوكل. وكانت مدة عصيان إسحاق بن إسماعيل بن شعيب إلى أن قتل خمساً وثلاثين (كذا) سنة، وزالت المملكة عن أولاده بشامة<sup>٤</sup> عصيانه. ثم عاد محمد إلى باب الأبواب وبقي ببغّا وشتم في مدينة دبيل، ثم غزا الكُرَج والأبخار عدة مرّات فانتصر عليهم في كل مرة وأكثر فيهم القتل والأسر والسبي والنهب، ثم غزا اللان وخزّران وانتصر عليهم أيضاً حتى أخذ من جميعهم الجزية، وكان محمد بن خالد أيضاً يغزو الكفار المجاورين بالباب والدربند مع غزاة الباب إلى أن أعيد إلى ولاية آذربيجان وأرمينية وأران بسعي ببغّا الكبير في حدود سنة ٢٤٢ وبني مدينة \* جنزة<sup>٥</sup> في كورة أران في سنة ٢٤٥، وكان السبب في بنائها أنه رأى في المنام وهو نازل بقرب حوالب<sup>٦</sup> حيث \* الروابي<sup>٧</sup>

<sup>١</sup> اوب - اربل. <sup>٢</sup> ١ - اللهين ب - اللين. <sup>٣</sup> ١ - ٢٨٠. <sup>٤</sup> اوب - بشامة.

<sup>٥</sup> اوب - خيرة. <sup>٦</sup> ولعلها خنّان. <sup>٧</sup> ١ - الروافي.

الثلاث ثلاث<sup>١</sup> ليال متواليات أن على الرابية الوسطى كنزاً مدفوناً فأصعدوها ووقف<sup>٢</sup> فرسك عليها فحيث ضربت يديها فمر<sup>٣</sup> بحفرها وارفع ما هناك وأبني به مدينة وسميها \* جترة ففعل ذلك فوجد \* ثلاثة مراجل أحدها مملوء دنانير والآخرا درهم فبنى بذلك المال مدينة \* جترة وانصرف (A1052a) إلى بغداد، وأخبر الخليفة بخبر الكنز والمدينة فقال الخليفة «لا رغبة لي في تلك المدينة فأحضري المال الموجود» فالتزم المال على أن يجعل المدينة بضيايع معروفة تسمى إلى الآن بالخالديات إراثاً له ولأولاده، وقرر له ذلك وانصرف إلى جترة وترك ولاية أرمينية واقتصر على مدينة جترة وما يحصل له من الضيايع إلى أن مات في سنة ؟، وكان قصره عند الباب المعروف بالخاص وتلك الحلة تعرف بمحلة القصر.

٦ § وكان أخوه الهيثم بن خالد والياً على شروان، ولما وقع المهرج بقتل المتوكل في سنة ٢٤٧ استبد الهيثم بأمر شروان وكان مشغولاً بغزو الكفار من أرض السريـر فاشتهر «بشروانشاه» وبقي مدة ثم توفي في سنة ؟، فتولى ابنه محمد بن الهيثم بن خالد وسار بسيرة أبيه من العدل والاشتغال بالغزو والجهاد، وله أيضاً مآثر جليلة في تلك البلاد.

٧ § ثم توفي فتولى ابنه الهيثم بن محمد بن خالد بن يزيد وأكثر الغزو والجهاد وهو الذي أوقف (كذا) عدة قرى تجمع غلاتها في أنبارات كان بناها في دار ملكه ثم تفرق على فقراء تغور باب الأبواب وغزاتها، وكان أميراً خيراً عادلاً مجاهداً طال أيامه ثم توفي.

٨ § فقام بالأمر<sup>٤</sup> ولده علي بن الهيثم بن محمد واتفق مع أمير الباب على غزاة «شندان» فاجتمع \* إليهما خلق كثير من المتطوعة والقرء من سائر البلدان ولما تقاربوا من باب شندان وقعت المحاربة فكانت الوقعة على المسلمين، فأسر علي بن الهيثم وأمير الباب مع عشرة آلاف من المسلمين فقسم الكفار المسلمين الأسارى فيما بين أهل شندان والخزر والسريـر، فما وقع بين أيدي أهل السريـر أطلقوهم من غير فداء بعد ثلاثة أشهر، وأطلق علي بن الهيثم وأمير الباب أيضاً وأعيدا إلى ولايتهما، أما من وقع في أيدي (B772) الخزر وأهل شندان فباعوهم وما نجا منهم إلا قليل. وكان أشد أُم أهل الكفر على المسلمين بغور الباب هم<sup>٥</sup> أهل شندان وكانت هذه الوقعة في حدود سنة ٣٠٠، وبقي

١ ثلث. ٢ وقف. ٣ ا - فامره. ٤ ب - بالامرة. ٥ اوب - هو.

عليّ على ولايته إلى أن خرج عليه من أبناء عمّه أبو طاهر يزيد بن محمد بن يزيد بن خالد بن يزيد بن مزيد الشيباني صاحب \* ليزان<sup>1</sup> في سنة ٣٠٥.

9 § وذلك أن الهيثم بن خالد لما استبدّ بأمر شروان استقلّ أخوه يزيد بن خالد بن يزيد بأمر \* ليزان فلُقّب الهيثم بشروانشاه وأخوه يزيد \* بليزانشاه<sup>2</sup> ثم توفي يزيد بعد مدّة فقام مقامه ولده محمد بن يزيد مدّة طويلة وعظم شأنه واستفحل أمره، ثم توفي فتولّى الأمر ولده أبو طاهر يزيد بن محمد وكان يترصد الفرصة للاستيلاء على شروان أيضاً ولما ضعف علي بن الهيثم بسبب أسره وقتل أكثر [من] رجاله انتهر يزيد الفرصة فكبسه وقبض عليه وعلى ابنه العباس وحفيده أبي بكر بن العباس بالمرزوقية وقتلهم كلهم غير أبي بكر بن العباس فإنه تخلص وزالت النعمة عن بيت الهيثم وانتقلت إلى بيت أخيه يزيد فاستولى أبو طاهر يزيد بن محمد بن يزيد بن خالد بن يزيد بن مزيد بن زائدة الشيباني على شروان في حدود سنة ٣٠٥. فبني في سنة ٣٠٦ مدينة اليزيدية بأرض شروان وأقطع \* ليزان (A1052b) أحد ولديه محمد بن يزيد وطالت أيامه وجرت بين ولده محمد وبين أمير الباب عبد الملك الهاشمي وقعة عظيمة في سنة ٣١٨ ثم اصطالحا بغير ظهور الظفر لأحد الطرفين، وفي سنة ٣٢٠ التجأ إليه مفلح مملوك يوسف بن أبي الساج من \* بالدويه<sup>3</sup> أمير آذربيجان فقبض عليه يزيد وسلّمه إلى بالدويه دفعاً للفتنة، وفي سنة ٣٣٣ خرج أهل الباب على أميرهم أحمد بن عبد الملك الهاشمي وأخرجوه من البلد وأرسلوا إلى يزيد صاحب شروان يدعونه إليهم ليتسلّم الولاية فأرسل يزيد ابنه<sup>4</sup> أحمد بن يزيد إليهم فبايعوه بالإمارة، فبقي فيها أياماً ثم أخرجوه وأعادوا أحمد الهاشمي إلى ملكه فسار يزيد وأغار على سواد الباب ونهبها.

ثم لم يمض غير قليل حتى دخل الديلم بلاد شروان واضطرّ يزيد إلى طلب المصالحة والإعانة من أهل الباب وردّ لهم كلّ ما أخذ مناهم من الشابران والقري ورسوم النفاطة والملاحة فأعانوه، فأخرج الديلم من بلاده ثم صالح الديلميين أيضاً واتفق معهم في<sup>5</sup> غزو الروم والكُرج وسائر ملوك الكفر، واستمرّ أبو طاهر في الملك نحو ٣٢ سنة حتى توفي في حدود سنة ٣٣٧ في شهر ربيع الأوّل منها وقيل سمّه وزيره ابن المراغي.

10 § فتولّى الملك بعده ولده محمد بن يزيد بن محمد بن يزيد بن خالد بن

<sup>1</sup> اوب - اران. <sup>2</sup> اوب - بايرانشاه. <sup>3</sup> ا - بالدويه. <sup>4</sup> انظر 35 § : اخاه ! <sup>5</sup> ب - من

يزيد بن مَزِيد فقبض على أخيه أحمد بن يزيد فحبسه فولّى ابنه أحمد \* ليزان وابنه الآخر الهيثم بن محمد طبرسران وكان تولاه في زمن جدّه أيضاً، فبقي محمد في الملك يغزو الكفرة على سنن آبائه نحو ثمانين سنين حتى توفي يوم الأحد لثمان بقين من صفر سنة ٣٤٥ مات بالجُدريّ، وقيل سمّه وزيره ابن المراغي وذلك أنّه لمّا اشرف على الموت من مرض الجدري طمع ابن المراغي في الملك وحذّثته نفسه بما لا يناله. فأرسل مملوكين لمحمد بن يزيد إلى الموضع الذي كان أحمد بن يزيد محبوساً فيه وأمرهما بقتله فقتلاه ووارياه، فلمّا كان بعد أيام \* برىء محمد من علة (B723) الجدري وعاد إلى صحته فأمر وزيره ابن المراغي بإطلاق أخيه أحمد من الحبس شكراً لله على عافيته فخاف ابن المراغي على نفسه فسقاه السمّ وأهلكه به كما فعل بأبيه أيضاً.

§ 11 فخلف محمد ولدَيْن: أحمد والهيثم، وخلف أخوه أحمد الخنوق ولدًا هو أبو الهيثم بن أحمد بن يزيد، وكان أحمد قد حضر لعيادة والده، ولما توفي قام أحمد بن محمد بن يزيد مقام والده فبايعه أعيان دولته ولم يمكث إلا قليلاً حتى مرض فأرسل إليه ابن المراغي شيئاً من الدواء ليشربه وكان قد دسّ فيه السمّ فبينما هو يريد أن يشربه إذ دخلت عليه امّه فحسّت بذلك فمنعته من شربه ثم أخذت الدواء وجعلت بعضه في لقمة من الخبز ثم رمته بين يدي السنور فأكله فهلك من ساعته، ولمّا برىء أحمد من مرضه أرسل جمعا من غلمانه فدخلوا على ابن المراغي في داره غفلةً فضربوه بالأعمدة والعصيّ حتى قتلوه ولمّا استقرّ أحمد بالملك ودفع شرّ ابن المراغي توهّم منه أخوه الهيثم وكان قد حضر هو أيضاً للعيادة فهرب إلى ناحية اللّكّز، وهرب ابن عمّه أبو الهيثم بن أحمد بن يزيد إلى بردعة فعاش فيها أياماً ثم مات بها فُحمل إلى كُرديان ودفن بها (A1053a) وفي هذه السنة أيضاً مات عمّه أبو البدر بن يزيد فصفى الأمر إلى أحمد بن محمد بن يزيد.

§ 12 وفي سنة ٣٥٧ خرج أخوه الهيثم من اللّكّز والتجأ إلى السلّار إبراهيم بن المرزبان الديلمي ودخل معه بلاد شروان وأغار السلّار عليها ونهب سواد الباب أيضاً ثم صالحه صاحب شروان أحمد وأعطاه مالا فخرج من شروان وأراد أن يحمل معه الهيثم فهرب الهيثم ودخل المسقط والتجأ إلى أحمد بن عبد الملك الهاشمي أمير باب الأبواب فأكرمه الأمير وأحسن إليه وخطب صاحب شروان في معناه وسأله أن يقطع له حصّة من بلاد شروان فأبى صاحب شروان ذلك

واستقبله<sup>١</sup> بالتهديد والوعيد فجمع الأمير أحمد صاحب الباب العسكر من الأطراف أكثره أهل السرير وخرج إلى شروان فقصده الشابران فأخذها عنوةً وأغار عليهم وأحرقها وأصابوا منها ومن نواحيها من الغنائم ما لا يُعد ولا يُحصى وعند العود دخل أهل السرير الباب قبل الأمير بيوم فهاجت الفتنة بالباب وقتل من رؤساء أهل السرير مائة نفر وأغاروا على جميع ما حملوا من شروان واستمر أحمد على ملكه نحو خمس وعشرين سنة حتى توفي في ذي الحجة من سنة ٣٧٠.

13 § فقام مقامه ولده محمد بن أحمد بن محمد وتسلم مدينة \* قبله<sup>٢</sup> من يد صاحبها عبد البر بن عنيسة في سنة ٣٧١ وملك مدينة بردعة في حدود سنة ٣٧٢ واستتاب بها من قبله موسى بن علي، وفي سنة ٣٧٣ بنى حائط مدينة الشابران، وفي سنة ٣٧٨ أخذ التوزي مدينة الباب بالأمان من يد صاحبه الأمير ميمون بن أحمد الهاشمي وأخرجه منها وسلم مدينة الباب إلى صاحب شروان محمد بن أحمد هذا، فبقي محمد في مدينة الباب عدة أشهر يدبر أمورها حتى وثب عليه أحد ممالك الأمير ميمون يقال له بالذ وضربه بالطبرزين على مؤخر رأسه وجرحه وهو في دار الإمارة، فهرب المملوك إلى صاحبه الأمير ميمون وهو بطبرسران فأخرج أتباع صاحب شروان إياه من المدينة مجروحا وساروا به إلى شروان فدخل الأمير ميمون مدينة الباب، وعوفي محمد بعد أيام، وفي أثناء ذلك أعلن عليه العصيان نائبه ببردعة موسى بن علي وخطب لنفسه وأسقط اسم محمد عن الخطبة، وفي سنة ٣٨٠ (B724) قام أهل الباب فأخرجوا أميرهم الأمير ميمون عن البلد وأدخلوا صاحب شروان إليه، فعمّر القلعة وأحصنها وشحنها برجاله ثم عاد إلى دار المملكة فتوفي في رمضان سنة ٣٨١ وكانت مدة ولايته إحدى عشرة سنة وثمانية أشهر [و] واحدا وعشرين يوما.

14 § فصار الأمر<sup>٣</sup> بعده إلى أخيه يزيد بن أحمد بن محمد بن يزيد فهجم الأمير ميمون على مدينة الباب وأخذها وهدم سورها الوسطاني، فكان بين خرابها وبين عمارتها ستة وخمسة أشهر. وفي سنة ٣٨٢ وقعت حرب شديدة بين الشراونة<sup>٤</sup> والشكرية<sup>٥</sup> عند رُستاق \* قبله، فقتل مسدد بن حبشي وزير صاحب شروان، وقتل معه أربع مائة فارس من أعيان عسكر صاحب شروان. وفي سنة ٣٨٨ فوّض يزيد بن أحمد صاحب شروان جميع أمور مملكته إلى عبد العزيز وعبد الصمد

<sup>١</sup> اوب - فاستقبله. <sup>٢</sup> اوب - ميله. <sup>٣</sup> ب - فصارت الامرة. <sup>٤</sup> ب - الشروانه.

<sup>٥</sup> ولعلها الشكرية.

أبني العباس البردعيين، وكان لا يصدر إلا عن رأيهما. وفي سنة ٣٨٩ قاتل شروانشاه يزيد صاحب قلعة كُرزول عبد البر بن عنبة وأحذه من يده. ثم حارب أمير الباب اللشكري بن ميمون على (A1053b) ضيعة زرقية (رزقية؟) في هذه السنة أيضا، فكانت الوقعة على الشراونة، ثم قصد الأمير اللشكري الشابران فقاتله الشراونة ببابها، فانهزم البايون أقبح هزيمة وأسر أخو اللشكري أبو نصر بن ميمون، وحبسه صاحب شروان ثم بعد الصلح بقي عنده رهينة، ثم طلبه أهل الباب بعد موت أخيه اللشكري في سنة ٣٩١ فأبى من التسلم وقال «أريد أن أزوجه ابنتي وأفعل معه كذا وكذا ولكن الشرط بيني وبينكم أن أبني قلعة الباب مع قلعة صول» فأبى أهل الباب فقتله شروانشاه بغير ذنب، وكان في قلعة الشابران فدفعه عند باب القلعة وكان ذلك في سنة ٣٩٢، فأقام أهل الباب أخاه الأمير منصوراً، فلم يزل يحاربه شروانشاه والحرب بينهم سجال حتى قام أهل الثغر في سنة ٤١٠ وأخرجوا الأمير منصوراً من البلد وسلموا البلد إلى شروانشاه يزيد بن أحمد فعمّر القلعة وشحنها بجنده ثم أمدّ صاحب السرير الأمير منصور ومال إليه أهل الباب أيضا، فدخل الباب في سنة ٤١٢ وتسلم القلعة أيضا من الشراونة، ثم قصد الأمير منصور الشابران فقاتله الشراونة ولم يظهر الظفر لأحد الطرفين، فعاد كل واحد منها إلى مقامه، وفي سنة ٤١٤ أخرج أهل الباب الأمير منصوراً من البلد وسلموه إلى شروانشاه فعمّر القلعة ثم عاد إليها الأمير منصور في رمضان سنة ٤١٥ ودخل البلد وتسلم القلعة أيضا بعد عشرين يوماً، وفي سنة ٤١٩ توفي الهيثم بن أحمد أخو يزيد شروانشاه في ضيعة محمد من طبرسران، وفي هذه السنة وقعت مقاتلة شديدة بين السراجية وبين شروانشاه، وفيها أيضا عصى على شروانشاه ولده أنوشروان بن يزيد، وكان واليا على اليزيدية من قبيل أبيه، وكان أبوه حينئذ بقلعة كرزول، كان قد سار إليها مع بعض نسائه للتفرّج والتصيّد فانهز ولده الفرصة وأعلن العصيان واتبعه جمع كثير من أوباش الناس، فصادر وزير أبيه عبد العزيز بن العباس فأخذ أمواله ونهب داره وحبسه، ثم وقع الشقاق بين أتباعه فندموا على ما فعلوه من اتباعه فأرسلوا إلى والده سراً يستدعونه إليهم ويستعجلونه (B725) في العود، فقدم يزيد مستعجلاً ففتح أهل البلد الأبواب عليه وانحرفوا من ابنه إليه فهرب ابنه العاق إلى قلعة كاستان (\* كاستان؟) ليدخلها ويتحصن بها، فتبعه الوزير وقبض عليه على الطريق

وسلّمه إلى والده، فحبسه أياماً ثم قتله جوعاً وعطشاً، وتوفي شروانشاه يزيد بن أحمد في سنة ٤١٨ وكانت مدّة ملكه نحو سبع وثلاثين سنة.

15 § فتولّى الملك بعده ولده منوَجهر بن يزيد بن أحمد بن محمد بن يزيد، وسار في سنة ٤٢٠ وقاتل أهل الباب على ضيعة موجكباد من بلد المسقط وانهزم منهم، وفي سنة ٤٢١ أغار أهل الباب على شروانشاه وخرّبوا مواضع كثيرة من بلاده، ثم دخلت الروس أيضاً بلاد شروان في هذه السنة فقابلهم منوَجهر شروانشاه عند باكويه فقتل جمع عظيم من الشراونة وقتل أحمد بن خاصكين (\* خاصتكين؟) من عظمائهم، ثم صعد الروسية إلى نهر كُر (كذا) فعقد منوَجهر الرس ليمنعهم من الصعود ففرّقوا<sup>1</sup> جماعة من المسلمين، ثم أخرجهم صاحب \* جترة موسى بن الفضل وأعطاهم أموالاً جمّة وحملهم إلى ييلقان لأن أهلها كانوا قد استعصوا عليه حتى أخذ (A1054a) ييلقان بإمداد الروسية، وقبض على أخيه عسكرية وقتله، ثم إن الروسية خرجوا من أرّان إلى الروم وامتدوا منها إلى بلادهم؛ وفي سنة ٤٢٣ اتّفق السريرية والالانية وأغاروا على شروان وأخذوا اليزيدية منها عنوةً وقتلوا فيها وفي سائر بلاد شروان زيادة على عشرة آلاف نفس وأقاموا فيها عشرة أيام يحفرون الأرض ويخرجون منها ما دفنه فيها أهل البلاد من الأموال والأمتعة، فلما امتلأت أيديهم من غنائم المسلمين انصرفوا إلى بلادهم راجعين فلما عبروا من باب حشب<sup>2</sup> وثب عليهم أهل الثغور البابية وأخذوا الطرق والمضائق عليهم وقتلوا منهم مقتلة عظيمة لم يذكر مثلاً، وأخذوا منهم جميع ما حملوه من شروان من أموال المسلمين من صامت وناطق وما نجا منهم إلا شردمة قليلة بحشاشة أنفسهم مع صاحب اللان، ثم عاد صاحب اللان في سنة ٤٢٤ لأخذ الثأر إلى الباب فانكسر في هذه الدفعة أيضاً بعون الله تعالى، وفي سنة ٤٢٥ قُتل منوَجهر شروانشاه في داره غيلةً قتله أخوه أبو منصور بن يزيد وكانت مدّة ملكه سبع سنين.

وكان سبب قتله أن أخاه أبا منصور كان متوهماً منه متوارياً، ثم دخل اليزيدية ليلاً على حين غفلة من أهلها وبعث إلى زوجة أخيه منوَجهر وهي الست بنت الفضل وكانت ماثلة إلى أبي منصور وعرفها حاله وحصوله في بيت أحد غلمانها على ما أشارت إليه به، فلما علمت المرأة ذلك وجّهت إليه إحدى<sup>3</sup> حواشيها مع صندوق من صناديق المطبخ حتى أجلسه فيه وأدخلته قلعة اليزيدية فلما حصل

<sup>1</sup> ب - فرّقوا. <sup>2</sup> ب - باب الحشب (كذا). <sup>3</sup> اب - احد.



في بيتها بعثت إلى زوجها منوجهر \* تدعوه إليها، فعرضت عليه كتاباً ورد عليها من أخيها موسى بن الفضل صاحب أرّان فكان منوجهر يقرؤه وينظر فيه ويفسره لها إذ خرج عليه من آخر البيوت أخوه أبو منصور شاهرا سيفه فقال له منوجهر «من أدخلك داري» وما استتمّ الكلام حتى ضربه بسيفه على مؤخر رأسه فأراد أن يكرّر الضرب فسقط السيف من يده من الخوف (الذي) دخل قلبه فأمرت الزوجة الملعونة جوارياها فأتَمَمْنَ قتله ثم لفّفته بزيّلية فخرج أبو منصور من الدار وأمر بإغلاق أبواب القلعة.

16 § وجلس أبو منصور علي بن يزيد (B726) بن أحمد على سرير الملك في سنة ٤٢٥ ثم أمر بدفن أخيه وتزوّج بزوجته بعد انقضاء العدة في ربيع الأول من سنة ٤٢٦، (و) تسلّم مدينة الباب بعد إخراج أميرها عبد الملك منها، فعمّر القلعة وشحنها بالرجال ثم استناب فيها وزيره منصور بن مسدد فعاد هو إلى دار ملكه فكبس عبد الملك الشراونة بمدينة الباب وقتل الوزير ودخل المدينة ثم تسلّم القلعة أيضا بالأمان، فعاد من فيها إلى شروان<sup>1</sup> ثم صالح عبد الملك أمير الباب شروانشاه وتزوّج بأخته شمكويه (شكويه؟) بنت يزيد، ولما رأى رؤساء الباب اتفاق الأميرين خافوا على أنفسهم فوثبوا عليه وقتلوا وزيره فهرب الأمير إلى شروان، ثم أرسل الرؤساء كبيرين منهم إلى الأمير يدعوانه إليهم فقبض شروانشاه على الرسولين واعتقلهما ثم أعان الأمير حتى نال إمارته، وبقي أبو منصور علي شروانشاه على ملكه إلى أن توفي في شهر سنة ٤٣٥ وكانت (A1054b) مدّة ملكه عشرين سنين.

17 § فقام مقامه أخوه قباد بن يزيد بن أحمد، وفي سنة ٤٣٦ قام الحلاف بين أمير الباب عبد الملك والرؤساء فوثبوا عليه وأسرّوا زوجته شمكويه وأرسلوها إلى أخيها قباد شروانشاه فحبسها في بعض القلاع ثم أطلقها وردّها إلى زوجها في سنة ٤٣٧، وفي هذه السنة بنى قباد شروانشاه سوراً حصيناً من الحجر المنحوت لمدينة «اليزيدية» وعلّق عليها الأبواب من الحديد خوفاً من الأتراك الغزّية، وتوفي قباد يوم الخميس لحمس بقين من صفر سنة ٤٤١ وكانت مدّة ملكه ست سنين.

18 § فتولّى الملك بعده ابن أخيه بختنصر علي بن أحمد بن يزيد بن أحمد بن محمد بن يزيد وجلس مكانه من يومه وبقي في الملك حتى خلّع منه، وأقيم عمّه

سلار بن يزيد فتسلم القلعة وخرج بختنصر علي بن أحمد بن يزيد منها ومن حدود شروان هارباً، فأرسل عمه سلار جماعة في عقبه فأدركوه وقتلوه بقرب بيلقان، وفي سنة ٤٤٥ سخر السلار شروانشاه قلعة \* مالوغ<sup>١</sup> عنوة ثم حصنها وشحنها بالرجال والميرة والسلاح وجعل حوالها مدينة حصينة أجلس فيها رجالا وبنى المسجد الجامع<sup>٢</sup> فاستمر سلار يغزو الكفار ويحفظ البلاد من شرهم وضرهم إلى أن توفي يوم الأحد لإحدى عشرة ليلة بقيت من صفر سنة ٤٥٥ وكانت مدة ملكه نحو خمس عشرة سنة.

19 § فتولى الملك بعده ولده وولي عهده فريزر بن سلار بن يزيد، وكانت الأمور كلها إليه في حيوة ولده أيضاً، وفي ربيع الأول من هذه السنة دخل شاور بن الفضل صاحب أران بلاد شروان وقصد قلعة قويلميان ففتحها عنوة وأدخل فيها رجاله ثم عاد إليها في هذه السنة أيضاً وأغار على بلاد شروان إغارة فاحشة ونهبها وخرّبها وساق أنعامهم ومواشيهم، وقتله الشراونة فانهزموا منهم وأسر كثيراً من أعيانهم وغنم أموالهم، ثم سار إلى باب اليزيدية وضرب خيامه حتى أخذ ابنه حريم سلار المتوفى مع جميع ما لها من الأموال والاثقال فعاد منها إلى دار ملكه أران، ثم عاد إليها ثالثة في رجب السنة ونزل قرية سعدون وأحرق الغلات وأضرم النيران في القرى والضياع، فأنفذ شروانشاه ابنه أفريدون مع أنوشروان بن اللشكري إلى أرض السريز ليستنجد جدّه أبا أمّه ولم ينل منه شيئاً فعاد (B727) بعد ثلاثة أشهر، وفي محرم سنة ٤٥٦ دخل صاحب أران أبو الأسوار شاور بن الفضل بلاد شروان واستولى على كروقطران وأخذ حموان<sup>٣</sup> ثم عاد وترك جمعاً من جيشه مع بعض أمرائه بشروان بعد أن أخذ منه أربعين ألف دينار، ثم صالحه شروانشاه فريزر في رجب السنة وردّ شاور إليه قلعة قويلميان بعد أن أخذ منه أربعين ألف دينار، وفي سنة ٤٥٧ جمع فريزر شروانشاه عسكره وأغار فيهم على قرى باب الأبواب ونهبها وخرّبها ونزل «بمهيارية» من المسقط وقتله أهل الباب عند قنطرة «قلعبان» وقتل منهم مقتلة عظيمة، وكان سبب ذلك أن أهل الباب ورؤساءهم كانوا قد خرجوا على أميرهم منصور بن عبد الملك وقتلوه، وكان منصور ابن عمّة فريزر ومسلماً له في جميع الأوقات، فقام فريزر لأخذ ثأره وقتل كثيراً من رؤساء الباب ونهب أموالهم وساق مواشيهم ثم عاد إلى بلاده (A1055a) وفي (سلخ) ربيع الآخر من هذه السنة توفي هرمز بن منوچهر بن يزيد بضبيعة

<sup>١</sup> ابوب مالوغ. <sup>٢</sup> ابوب مسجد الجامع. <sup>٣</sup> ب - ماوان.

«إرسي» من ناحية طبرسران فدفن عند أخواله بها، وفي هذه السنة أيضا عاد فريبرز شروانشاه في عسكره ودخل أرض المسقط وخيّم على شطّ نهر «سمّور» ووجه سراياه إلى باب البلد في رجب السنة فاضطرّ أهل الباب فأخرجوا عمته شمكويه بنت يزيد من الحبس وأرسلوها إليه مع الفقهاء ومعها أموالها وأثقالها، فعاد فريبرز بعد ذلك إلى شروان ثم استنجد المفرج رئيس الرؤساء بالباب صاحب السرير فقدم إليه مع جمع من أهل السرير نجدةً له فصار المفرج معهم وحاصر شابران من شروان فخرج إليه من كان فيها من عسكر شروانشاه وأهل البلد وقتلوه وانتصروا عليه وأسروه وأكثروا القتل في أهل السرير وغنموا أثقالهم ثم اجتمع أهل الباب واتفق رؤسائهم فسلموا البلد إلى شروانشاه، فعمّر القلعة وحصّنها بالرجال والميرة فخرج أمير الباب عبد الملك بن الشكري إلى خيّدق فولّى شروانشاه فريبرز ولده أفريدون باب الأبواب وسيّره إليه في سلخ صفر سنة ٤٥٨، فاستقبله أهل الباب وأدخلوه البلد بالتعظيم فزل القلعة وأقام فيها، وفي جمادى الأولى من السنة غضب فريبرز شروانشاه على أهل دارملكه اليزيدية فأنزّل \* الجزية<sup>١</sup> الكفرة عليهم حتى نهبوا وقبضوا على من فيها من الفقهاء والرؤساء والأعيان فأمر شروانشاه بقتل بعضهم صبراً وصلب البعض وحبس البعض وطالبهم بخراج سنين ماضية.

20 § وفي هذه السنة دخل الأتراك بلاد شروان وأغاروا عليها ونهبوا حلل الأكراد وأخرجوا منها غنائم كثيرة من الصامت والناطق، ثم بذل شروانشاه أموالا كثيرة حتى خرجوا من شروان وفي غرة محرّم سنة ٤٥٩ دخل قراتكين التركي ثانيا بلاد شروان وكان معه مملّان بن يزيد بن محمد عمّ شروانشاه فخيّم قراتكين على باب اليزيدية وحاصرها، ثم أغار على سهلها وجبلها وشنّ الغارة فيها وقتل بها مقتلة عظيمة وساق مواشيها وسبي نسوانها وصبيانها وجعل بلاد شروان قاعاً صفّصفاً، ثم انحدر منها إلى «باكويه» وجعلها مثل اليزيدية، ولمّا ضاق الأمر على شروانشاه أرسل حشردوابّه إلى المسقط وكانت زائدة على أربعة آلاف رَمَكَة، وفي صفر السنة قبض شروانشاه على جماعة من أهل اليزيدية وعلى حاجب الشكري وحقّ (دحق؟) وصلب البعض ثم صار قراتكين بين نهب وصلب وقتل وتخريب وإحراق من باكويه إلى صوب الشابران (B728) وخيّم بقرب منها، وأرسل عسكره وأغاروا على القرى وأسروا المسلمين والمعاهدين وسبوا

نساءهم وأولادهم وأحرقوا منازلهم وصعدوا الجبل ثم نزلوا إلى المسقط وساقوا حشر دوابّ شروانشاه ورجعوا إلى باب الشابران، ثم رجع قراتكين وحاصر اليزيدية ثانية واشتدّ الأمر على شروانشاه إذ كان قد لحق مددٌ نحو أُلّي مقاتل من الأتراك إلى قراتكين وأرسلوا إلى شروانشاه يريدون خداعه حيث قالوا له «إن السلطان أرسلنا إليك للمدد ودفع قراتكين عنك» فقبضوا عليه وعلى مَمْلان ظاهرا وطلبوا من شروانشاه الخروج إليهم (A1055b) ليسلّموهما إليه فلم ينخدع شروانشاه ولم يخرج إليهم فأطلقوهما وصاروا يداً واحدة عليه فاحتال شروانشاه في دفعهم وأرسل سراً إلى حاجب السلطان الذي كان قد أتى ثانية وأعطاه ستة آلاف دينار على أن يسلم إليه عمّه مملان بن يزيد ليقّتلَه فأجاب إلى ذلك ودعا مملان إلى الضيافة وكان متحصّناً بقلاباد فخرج إليه مملان فأكلوا وشربوا وسكر مملان فاستأذن الحاجب في العود إلى «قلاباد» فأذنه (كذا) في ذلك وكان شروانشاه قد أرسل ثلاثة من خواصّه ابن خاله لشكرستان وخادمه شادتكين وحاجبه نامدار بن المظفر فتكتمنوا في ممرّ مملان ولمّا مرّ بهم مملان وهو سكران خرجوا عليه وقتلوه شرّاً قتلة ليلة السبت لست ليالٍ مضت من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة ٤٥٩ \* وحملت جثته إلى اليزيدية ودفن بها، ثم إنّ الأتراك انحدروا من باب اليزيدية إلى شط نهر الكر<sup>١</sup> ليعبروا منه مع المنهوبات وشدّوا جسراً من السفن فعبروا منه بغير آفة لحقتهم، وفي ربيع الآخر من السنة وجهه ألبسان التركي صاحب قزوين جمعا من ثقاته إلى شروان ليحصلوا المال الذي التزمه شروانشاه أن يؤديه كل سنة وهو ثلثون ألف دينار حتى يمنع منه شرّ الأتراك.

21 § وفي جمادى الآخرة من السنة أظهر حرنسرى<sup>٢</sup> بن كركي العصيان على شروانشاه فخرج في جمع إلى شكّي<sup>٣</sup> واستولى على قلعة دسكرة الحسين (الجنين) وأدخل عسكره فيها مع ابنه وأخيه ثم أعطاهما لصاحب شكّي \* أخسرتان بن كاكيق<sup>٤</sup> فجمع شروانشاه عسكره فقصّد القلعة ليستردّها فلم يقدر عليها فرجع إلى اليزيدية خائبا، وفي هذه السنة ورد إلى شروانشاه قياس وقراتكين مع فرسانهما من الأتراك فزوّج شروانشاه ابنة عمّه قباد من قراتكين، وفي شعبان السنة قُتل ابن خاله لشكرستان بباب \* قبله قتله بعض أهل قوني وفي شوال السنة مات قياس التركي بشروان فُجّاةً ودفن باليزيدية وقيل سمّ وفي ذي القعدة

١ اوب - الكز. ٢ ب - حرنسرى. ٣ ب - وجمع على شكّي.

٤ ا - احمرسان بن كاليق، ب - احرنّان.

ماتت عمّة شروانشاه شمكويه بنت يزيد والدة الأمير منصور بقلعة جلستان وحملت جثتها إلى الشابران فدفنت في مشهد أبيها.

22 § وفي آخر هذه السنة قدم السلطان ألب أرسلان السلجوقي إلى أَران فحضر إلى خدمته شروانشاه فريبرز مع الهدايا والخدمة وصار معه في غزوته في سنة ٤٦٠ وأغار شروانشاه على أهل قوئي وقتل كثيرا منهم وساق مواشيهم وأحرق قراهم أخذًا بثأر ابن خاله لشكرستان ولما عاد السلطان من غزو الروم شكّا أهل الباب إليه من شروانشاه لأخذه على جماعة من رؤسائهم فأمر السلطان بإطلاقهم فأطلقهم ثم حبسه السلطان أياماً وهرب صهره قراتكين من اليزيدية إلى المسقط فقتل فيه وفرّ أخو شروانشاه كزدهم بن سالار وحمل معه ما وعده من الأموال وصعد إلى بلاد اللّكز ثم أطلق السلطان شروانشاه وأقطع عليه أموالاً عظيمة يؤدّيها كل سنة فسيره إلى ولايته، وفي (B729) رمضان السنة خرج أفريدون بن فريبرز شروانشاه من قلعة الباب إلى شروان.

23 § وفي سنة ٤٦١ بلغ شروانشاه أن أخاه كزدهم قد خرج من اللّكز إلى الباب والتجأ إلى الرؤساء فجمع (A1056a) شروانشاه جيشه وسار فيهم في محرّم السنة ونزل على شط نهر روباس ثم توجه إلى قلعة الباب ليدخلها فاستقبله أهل الباب مع أخيه كزدهم بن سالار فوقعت المحاربة بظاهر البلد في موضع «خروماستان»، وامتدّ القتال من أوّل النهار إلى الظهر وكثرت القتلى والجرحى من الطرفين ولم يظهر الظفر لأحد الطرفين فرجع شروانشاه إلى معسكره وأهل الباب إلى بيوتهم ثم هجم شروانشاه كربة ثانية فاستقبله أهل الباب مع الرماة الخيداقية والأبوابية، ولمّا اشتدّ القتال انحرف رئيس رؤساء الباب المفرج بن المظفر إلى جانب شروانشاه فانهزم أهل الباب وولّوا أديبارهم وثبتت الخيداقية وأهل طويق فعاد المهزومون لما رأوا ثباتهم فأضرموا نار القتال رأساً فضعفت الشراونة وكثر القتلى والجرحى فيهم فانهزموا بالآخرة<sup>١</sup> ثم استولى المفرج على القلعة ودخلها على حين غفلة من أهل الباب فبقي كزدهم بن سالار مستولياً على بلد الباب والمفرج على قلعته يحارب أتباع الطرفين كلّ يوم، ثم هرب كزدهم إلى اللّكز وعبد الملك بن الشكري إلى خيداق فاستولى المفرج على البلد أيضاً ثم قدم شروانشاه مع ولده وأتباعه الثغر ودخل القلعة فأقام بالباب أربعة أيام ثم رجع منها وترك ولده أفريدون واليا عليها وأنزله القلعة فجند أفريدون في تحصين القلعة وعمارتها وحفر الخندق.

١ \* آخرة أو أخيراً.

24 § مم خطب أهل الباب لصاحب أران فرفعوا خطبة شروانشاه، وأرسل صاحب أران عسكرياً ودخلوا بلاد شروان وأغاروا عليها وجرت بين شروانشاه وبين أهل الباب وعسكر أرانشاه عدة حروب حتى استولى شروانشاه على أرض المسقط كليهما و«مهيارية» وبقيت قلعة الباب أيضاً في يد ابنه أفريدون وكان يغير منها على ضياع أهل الباب وعماراتهم عند انتهاز الفرصة، وكان أبوه يحدد النوبتية في كل شهر، وبنى حول ضيعة مهيارية سوراً واتخذها مدينةً وبنى في وسطها قلعة وكان شروانشاه يسكنها في أكثر الأوقات للإيقاع بأهل الباب، وكان رئيس الباب المفرج في الباطن متفقاً معه ويساعده ويعاونه في أكثر معاركه حتى اضطر أهل الباب إلى إظهار شعار شروانشاه والخطبة له وأسقطوا خطبة صاحب أران، وفي سنة ٤٦٤ أرسل شروانشاه ولده أفريدون والياً مستقلاً على الباب بعد أخذ الرهائن والعهود من أهل الباب.

25 § وفي صفر هذه السنة قدم يغما التركي غلام السلطان ألب أرسلان السلجوقي إلى تغور الباب أميراً عليها من قبيل السلطان فاستقبله أهل الباب والتغور بالإكرام والاحترام وأدخلوه البلد وقرأ منشور السلطان عليهم وكان أفريدون بن شروانشاه قد سار وتحصن بالقلعة وأرسل يغما إلى شروانشاه يطلب منه القلعة والمسقط، فخلّى شروانشاه القلعة ونقل ما فيها من الميرة والغلات فتسلم يغما القلعة في ربيع الآخر وسار الشراونة إلى شروان وهدم يغما السور الوسطاني منها بسوق أهل الباب وفي هذه السنة مات كزدهم بن سلاّر أخو شروانشاه \* بشكّي وحملت جثته (A1056b) إلى اليزيدية ودفن فيها، فسار المفرج الرئيس في جمع من أهل الباب في رجب السنة ليعبروا نهر سمّور ويدخلوا المسقط ويسترجعوها من شروانشاه (B730) ويخربوا مهيارية ويحاربوا من في قلعتها \* من الحفظة والنوبتية ثم رجع المفرج من الطريق بأدنى علة ليله إلى شروانشاه.

26 § وفي هذه السنة اتفق شروانشاه مع صاحب أران الفضل بن شاور فساراً جميعاً وحاصراً قلعة \* «ملوغ» في عساكرهما الشروانية والارانية حتى استردوها من يد نائب \* أخسرتان<sup>١</sup> صاحب شكّي (الذي) قد (كان) أخذها من المسلمين في أول هذه السنة، واستردوها في رمضان السنة وهدموها وعفّوا أثرها وقتلوا جميع من فيها من الكفرة واستمر شروانشاه تارة يطيعه أهل الباب وتارة يعصون عليه فيحاربهم ويقاثلهم ويخرب ضياعهم وقراهم.

١ - أخسرتان، ب - أخسرتناه.

27 § حتى كانت سنة ٤٦٧ فقدم جمع من الأتراك مع مقدمهم أرغار بن بوقا (توقا) وادّعى ابن بوقا بأنّ السلطان قد أقطعته شروان فخدعه شروانشاه بالهدايا والأموال حتى أمن التركي منه ثم قبض عليه وحبسه ثم ندم على ما فعله خوفاً من السلطان فخلّى قيوده بيده وقدّم إليه أموالاً واعتذر والتمس العفو فأظهر التركي بانه (أنه) عفا عنه ثم هرب منه فجمع عسكرا من الأتراك فدخل بهم بلاد شروان فهبها وساق جميع مواشيها ولمّا بلغ ذلك السلطان أرسل إليه يأمره ببرد المواشي والمهوبات إلى أصحابها فردّت إليهم في سنة ٤٦٨.

28 § وكان شروانشاه استولى على اللكز الشرقية والغربية وأخذ من أهلها الخراج قهراً وعنوةً بعد محاربات شديدة جرت بينه وبينهم في سنة ٤٦٧.

29 § وأطاعه أهل الباب بالضرورة إلى أن قدم نائب ساوتكين أمير العراقيين على جميع ثغور الأبواب (و) كان قد أقطعها السلطان له فأرسل إليها النائب فيئس شروانشاه بعد ذلك من الاستيلاء على الباب وبقي في ولايته يؤدّي المال المقطوع عليه كل سنة إلى خزينة السلطان حتى توفّي في سنة ٩، فتولّى ولده أفريدون بن فريبرز بن سلاّربن يزيد بن أحمد بن محمد بن يزيد بن محمد بن يزيد بن خالد بن يزيد بن مزّيد الشيباني.

30 § اعلم أن ما ذكرناه من أحوال الشراونة إلى هنا منقول من تاريخ عربيّ ألف بباب الأبواب في حدود سنة ٥٠٠ إلّا أنّ النسخة (التي) ظفرت بها كانت ناقصة فلم يُعَلَم بمآل أمرهم.

الحرف الثاني في بني هاشم ملوك باب الأبواب والمسقط والثغور ويقال لها المراكز أيضاً.

31 § المسقط أرض تشتمل على عدّة حصون وقرى ومزارع تحدها نهر سمّور والبحر واللكز والشابران كان لها حكام \* مستقلون<sup>١</sup> قديماً انقضوا في سنة ٢١٨ فاستولى عليها أمراء باب الأبواب والثغور، فكانت الأمراء يتناوبون عليها من قبل الخلفاء الأموية ثم العباسية إلى أن تولّاها هاشم بن سُرّاقة السلمي<sup>٢</sup> (بالولاء) في سنة ٢٥٥ فاستبدّ بأمرها ثم ملكها أولاده واحداً بعد واحد وهم؟ نفر دار ملكهم بلدة باب الأبواب وأوّل ظهورهم في سنة ٢٥٥ وانقضاهم في سنة ٤٧٠ تقريباً فدّة ولايتهم مائتان وخمس عشرة سنة.

١ - مستقلة.

٢ - السلجوقي لآء (كذا) والظاهر أنّ «لا» تشير إلى غلط في الاصل لأن هاشمًا هذا كان سلميّا لا سلجوقيّا كما صحّح في النسخة ب.

32 § أول من استقل بالحكومة منهم هاشم بن سراقه بن سلس بن حيون (جيون ؟) بن النجم بن هاشم من موالي بني سليم، تولّى إمارة الباب في سنة ٢٥٥ وكان من الرؤساء المشهورين والشجعان المعروفين بالغور، ولمّا اختل نظام الخلفاء بعد قتل المتوكل بتغلب مواليهم الأتراك على أمورهم اجتمع أهل الباب وغزاة الغور (B731) فأمرّوه على أنفسهم \* واطاعوه<sup>١</sup> طاعة حسنة، فأحسن السيرة فيهم وعدل وأنصف ولم يصدر في أمر الآ عن مشاورة العقلاء والرؤساء، ففعل كل ما فعل بعد اتفاق كلمتهم على فعله، وانتظمت أحوال الغور والمراكز في أيامه وهابته الأعداء وفي سنة ٢٦٣ غزا السرير وقتل في أهلها مقتلة عظيمة وغنم أموالهم وسبى ذراريهم ونسوانهم فعاد منصوراً، ثم غزاها في سنة ٢٦٥ أيضاً وعاد مظفراً، واستمرّ على إمارته إلى أن توفي في شوال سنة ٢٧١ وكانت مدّة حكمته ست عشرة سنة.

33 § فتولّى الإمارة بعده ولده عمر بن هاشم بن سراقه وسار بسيرة أبيه في العدل وحسن السيرة ومات في سنة ٢٧٢ (و) مدّته نحو سنة واحدة، فتولّى الأمر أخوه محمد بن هاشم بن سراقه فغزا أرض شندان في سنة ٢٧٣ وفتح دنكس (ونكس) وشلسلي منها وفي سنة ٢٨٨ هجمت الخزر مع ملكهم كسابن بلجان<sup>٢</sup> الخزري على باب الأبواب في رجب السنة، فقاتلهم محمد بن هاشم مع الغزاة البابية فدفعهم وكسّرهم بعون الله تعالى، وفي ذي القعدة من سنة ٢٩٢ التقى محمد بن هاشم مع بختيشوع صاحب السرير فغدر به صاحب السرير وأسرّه مع عشرة من الرؤساء ثم أطلقهم وأكرمهم وخلّى سبيلهم بعد أن خلع عليهم، وفي سنة ٢٩٧ غزا شندان ومعه شروانشاه أيضاً مع الشراونة فانهزم المسلمون وأسر الأميران ثم تخلصا كما مرّ آنفاً، وفي سنة ٣٠٢ توفي ابن أخيه ميمون بن عمرو بن هاشم، وفي سنة ٣٠٣ توفي محمد بن هاشم الأمير وكانت مدّة ملكه إحدى وثلاثين سنة.

34 § فقام بالأمر بعده أخوه عبد الملك بن هاشم بن سراقه يوم الثلاثاء لسبع بقين من جمادى الآخرة، فخرج عليه ابن أخيه أبو النجم بن محمد بن هاشم فقال إليه أهل الباب فأخرج عمّه من البلد وجلس مكانه لست بقين من رمضان، فسار عبد الملك إلى شندان وحارب أبو النجم أهل طبرسران في ذي الحجة من السنة وكانت الدائرة<sup>٣</sup> عليه وأمّا عبد الملك فإنه سار إلى يوسف بن أبي الساج حاكم آذربيجان من قبل الخليفة، فعقد له ولاية باب الأبواب

١ - واطاعوا له.      ٢ - نَزَّ (نَزَّ) كيسا بن بلجان.      ٣ - دائرة.



وضم إليه ستة آلاف مقاتل من الساجية وسار عبد الملك فيهم وقاتل أهل الباب وكسرهم ودخل المدينة مع الساجية، وهرب أبو النجم ولما استقر عبد الملك بالإمارة ومضت أشهر أخبر بأن ابن أخيه أبا النجم نازل في موضع بقرب شابران واطمأن بها فكبسه عبد الملك ليأخذه فعلم أبو النجم بذلك ومضى في طريق آخر نحو المدينة فدخلها بالليل فرجع إليه عبد الملك وحاصره فيها ثم جاءه سليفان في عسكر الخزر فأخذه وأخذوا عامة أصحابه وأدخلوا عبد الملك المدينة فظفر بابن أخيه أبا النجم فقتله وصفا له الأمر بعد ذلك [وفي سنة ٣١٨ وقع بينه وبين محمد شروانشاه قتال بباب الشابران في رمضان كما سبق آنفا] <sup>١</sup> وفي سنة ٣٢٣ ولد له أبنه أحمد بن عبد الملك، وفي سنة ٣٢٦ غزا عبد الملك مراهه <sup>٢</sup> وفتحها وقتل رجالها (A1057b) واسترق نساءها وصبيانها وساق مواشيها وفي هذه السنة أيضا أُنشد صاحبه أبا الفوارس في نفر من الفرسان من أهل الباب والخيداق إلى قرية أران <sup>٣</sup> فيقتلوا العدو وكبسوهم وقتلوا من كبار شندان (B372) جماعة وملكوا دبكش (٤) وفي سنة ٣٢٧ غرة جمادى الأولى منها توفي الأمير عبد الملك بن هاشم وكانت مدة إمارته \* أربعاً وعشرين سنة.

٣٥ § فبوع بالإمارة بعده ولده أحمد بن عبد الملك بثلاثة أيام <sup>٤</sup> ثم خرج عليه الرؤساء بعد خمسة أشهر وأخرجوه من البلد وباعوا الهيثم بن محمد بن يزيد صاحب طبرسران وأدخلوه البلد وبقي الهيثم في إمارة الباب نحو سنتين ثم أخرجوه من المدينة وخلعوه في شعبان من سنة ٣٢٩ وأدخلوا الأمير أحمد بن عبد الملك وباعوه ثانياً وخلعوه بعد سبعة أشهر في سنة ٣٣٠ في ربيع الأول منها وأعادوا الهيثم إلى الإمارة وخلعوه بعد ستة <sup>٥</sup> أشهر وباعوا أباه محمد بن يزيد شروانشاه فاستتاب بها أخاه أحمد بن يزيد <sup>٦</sup> ولم يمض غير قليل حتى خلعوه في سنة ٣٤٢ وأخرجوه من البلد ولوا مكانه قسرسم <sup>٧</sup> أحمد بن منبه ملك اللكر في جمادى الأولى من السنة ثم خلعوه في ذي القعدة وأعادوا الأمير أحمد بن عبد الملك إلى البلد وأخرجوا قشرشم (٨) <sup>٩</sup> وفي سنة ٣٤٨ ولد للأمير أحمد ابنه الأمير ميمون بن أحمد.

وفي سنة ٣٥٨ نزل السلار إبراهيم ابن المرزبان الديلمي بشروان وأرسل إلى أمير الباب أحمد بن عبد الملك يدعوه إليه فلم يجب أحمد إلى ذلك ولم يحضر

١ [ ] مفقود في أ. ٢ مرافسه مراقبه ب - مراونه. ٣ ولعلها \* شندان.

٤ ب - وهو ابن ثلاث سنين. ٥ ب - سبعة.

٥ ب - أخاه أحمد بن عبد الملك ثالثاً فبقي في الملك وملك أمره حتى خلعوه في سنة ٣٤٢.

٧ ب - قسرسم. ٨ ب - تشرشم.

عنده، فأرسل السلار جمعاً من عسكره ليغيروا على المسقط فأخذ أهل المسقط عليهم المضايق والمسالك وقتلوا فيهم مقتلة عظيمة وانهزم الباقون ثم التجأ الهيم أخو شروانشاه إلى الأمير أحمد وبسببه وقع بينه وبين شروانشاه شقاق فأغار الأمير أحمد مع أهل السرير على بلاد شروانشاه ونهبوها ثم وقعت فتنة بالباب من أهل السرير فقتلهم أهل الباب واستردوا منهم ما نهبوه من شروان كما سبق أنفاً وفي سنة ٣٥٩ عمّر الأمير أحمد قلعة الباب وتحصّن بها وفي سنة ٣٦٠ كانت محاربة شديدة بين أهل الباب وأهل السرير بباب الجهاد في ربيع الآخر من السنة وكانت الوقعة على المسلمين واستشهد من أهل الباب والغرباء والمتطوعة قريب ألف رجل واستمرّ الأمير أحمد في الملك إلى أن توفي في شهر ربيع الأول من سنة ٣٦٦ وكانت مدّة إمارته نحو أربعين سنة وعمره نحو ثلاث وأربعين سنة .

36 § وولي مكانه ولده ميمون بن أحمد بن عبد الملك وكان في القلعة مكان والده ثم نزل منها وحُبس في دار الإمارة وأخذ أهل البلد في خراب السور الوسطاني منها وكان بين عمارتها وخرابها سبع سنين وشهروا في دار الإمارة كالحبوس والحكم كله في أيدي الرؤساء ومات أخوه حسّان بن أحمد في سنة ٣٧٥ واستمدّ الأمير ميمون من الروسية سرّاً ليُمدّوه<sup>١</sup> على الرؤساء، فجاءت الروسية في ثمانى عشرة سفينة في سنة ٣٧٧ وأرسلوا أولاً سفينة واحدة لينظروا هل للأمير رغبة في استخدامهم فلما أخرجوا الأمير تعاون أهل الباب فقتلوا الروسية عن آخرهم وذهبت السفن الباقية إلى المسقط وأغاروا عليهم ثم امتدّوا إلى شروان وموقان إلى نهر العتيق (كذا)، وفي سنة ٣٧٨ بنى الأمير ميمون قلعة الباب وتحصّن بها.

وفي سنة ٣٧٩ كانت في الباب فتنة موسى التوزي الواعظ الجيلاني وذلك أنّه ورد من جيلان مدينة الباب (A1058a) وعقد المجلس في جامعها وتاب على (B733) يديه زهاء ألف رجل وحملهم معه إلى برج الطاق وتاب الأمير ميمون أيضاً من الشراب وآل الأمر إلى أنّه احتوى على أمور البلد كلّها وطلب من الأمير غلامه الروسية ليعرض عليهم الإسلام أو يقتلهم فأبى ذلك فقامت فتنة وتحصّن الأمير منه بالقلعة في سنة ٣٨٠ وحاصرها التوزي الواعظ مع البايبة ثمانية وعشرين يوماً وآل أمر الأمير إلى أن طلب منه الأمان حتى يسلم إليه القلعة ويخرج بنفسه وغلامه إلى طبرسران ففعل ذلك فهدم التوزي السور الوسطاني فاحتوى التوزي على

<sup>١</sup> اوب - ليمدوهم.

البلد وأنفذ يطلب صاحب شروان فورد الثغر واستقبله أعيان البلد ورؤساؤه مع الصغار والكبار وأدخلوه الثغر بالإغراق والإكرام، ثم ظفر بالدم<sup>١</sup> مملوك الأمير ميمون بشروانشاه وجرحه في دار الإمارة في السنة المذكورة ثم هرب إلى صاحبه بطبرسران، فخرج شروانشاه مجروحا إلى شروان ودخل الأمير ميمون البلد، ثم أخرج في سنة ٣٨١ وأعيد شروانشاه إليه فعمّر القلعة وحصنها وفي سنة ٣٨٢ عاد الأمير ميمون إلى الباب وأحرق باب دمشق ودخل البلد، وفي سنة ٣٨٣ تسلّم القلعة أيضا من الشراونة وهدم سورها الوسطاني الذي بناه شروانشاه وكان بين خرابه وعمارتة سنة وخمسة أشهر، وفي هذه السنة جعل الأمير ميمون باب دمشق وباب فلسطين من الحديد الخالص وفي سنة ٣٨٥ \* أسلم أهل \* الكرخ على يد الأمير ميمون وفي سنة ٣٨٧ يوم الاثنين الخامس عشر من صفرها توفي الأمير ميمون بن أحمد فكانت مدّة ولايته إحدى وعشرين سنة وعمره ثمان وثلاثون سنة.

37 § ثم أقيم مقامه أخوه محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الملك فأقام بالباب والياً عشرة أشهر وثمانية عشر يوما ثم قتله غلمان أخيه ميمون في الصحراء بباب الجهاد في ذي الحجة من السنة، ويبيع ابن أخيه للشكري ابن ميمون بعد قتل عمّه بأربعة أشهر في شهر ربيع الأول من سنة ٣٨٨ وحاربه شروانشاه بضبعة زرقية (رزقية ؟) في سنة ٣٨٩ وغلب عليها، ثم حاربه بباب الشابران فانهزم منه وتوفي الأمير للشكري في سنة ٣٩٢ في ذي القعدة منها فكانت مدّة ولايته أربع سنين وعشرين يوما.

38 § فبيع أخوه منصور بن ميمون بن أحمد في سنة ٣٩٣ بعد وفاة أخيه للشكري بثمانية أشهر ونصف، وفي هذه السنة قتل شروانشاه أبا نصر بن ميمون أخا منصور هنا (و) كان رهينة عنده من زمن أبيه ميمون، فقتله بغير سبب ظاهر، واستمر الأمير منصور في إمارة الباب حتى خلعه في سنة ٤١٠ وأخرجوه من البلد، فبايعوا صاحب شروان يزيد بن أحمد فعمّر القلعة وأسكن جنده فيها، ثم خلعه في سنة ٤١٢ وبايعوا الأمير منصور ثانيا وأدخلوه البلد وتسلّم القلعة أيضا بعد شهر من الشراونة، وسيّر جيشا من أهل الباب إلى شروان فقاتله الشراونة بباب الشابران في سنة ٤١٣ ولم يظهر لأحد الطرفين الظفر فعادوا، وفي سنة ٤١٤ أخرج الأمير منصور من البلد وأدخل صاحب شروان، فعمّر القلعة وشحنها بالرجال، وفي سنة ٤١٥ أعيد الأمير منصور إلى إمارته فبيع بها ثالثا وتسلّم القلعة أيضا بعد

عدة أيام، وفي سنة ٤١٦ تزوج الأمير منصور سارية (B734) بنت بختيشوع صاحب السرير، وفي سنة ٤٢٣ غزا الأمير منصور مع غزاة المراكز الإسلامية غزوة عظيمة وذلك أن الروسية كانوا قد أغاروا (A1058b) على بلاد شروان وخرّبوها ونهبوها وقتلوا وأسروا من أهلها عالما عظيمًا، ولمّا عادوا وأيديهم ممتلئة من المنهوبات والسبايا أخذت الغزاة البايية والثغرية مع الأمير منصور هذا عليهم المضايق والمسالك فحكموا فيهم السيف فلم يفلت منهم إلّا قليل، وأخذوا من أيديهم جميع ما أخذوه من شروان من صامت وناطق، فقصد الروسية واللانية أخذ الانتقام فجمعوا وحشدوا وتوجّهوا إلى الباب والثغور في سنة ٤٢٤ فقصدوا أولًا الكرخ وكان بها شردمة قليلة مع خسرو (؟) والهيم بن ميمون البائي (البابي؟) رئيس الدبّاغين<sup>١</sup> وحارب مع الكرخية فأنزل الله النصر على المسلمين حتى قتلوا من اللانية والروسية مقتلة عظيمة فانهزم صاحب اللان من باب الكرخ مقهورا فانقطع بالكلية طمع الكفرة من هذه المراكز الإسلامية وتوفي الأمير منصور بن ميمون في حدود سنة ٤٢٥ وكان ملكه سبعا وثلاثين سنة.

39 § وبويع ابنه عبد الملك بن منصور بن ميمون وبقي إلى أن خلع وأخرج من البلد ليلة الجمعة لانتى عشرة بقين من ربيع الأول وسلّموا البلد إلى شروانشاه أبى منصور علي بن يزيد وأدخلوه البلد فعمر القلعة وأجلس وزيره منصور بن مسدد في دار الإمارة وخرج هو إلى شروان وكان ذلك في سنة ٤٢٦، وفي جمادى الآخرة منها دخل الأمير عبد الملك البلد وقتل منصور بن مسدد وحاصر القلعة ثم تسلّمها بالأمان بواسطة علي بن الحسن بن عنق الرئيس غرة رجب السنة، وفيها مات المظفر بن عبد السلام بن أغلب الرئيس بالباب، وفي هذه السنة تزوج الأمير عبد الملك شمكويه بنت يزيد أخت شروانشاه وبنى بها في صفر سنة ٤٢٧ ولمّا رأى الرؤساء اعتضاده بمصاهرة شروانشاه خافوا على أنفسهم فقام منهم علي بن الحسن بن عنق والمفرج وأبو الفوارس وأبو عمرو بنو المظفر بن أغلب فوثبوا مع أتباعهم على غفلة فدخلوا دار سقلاب بن محمد وزير الأمير عبد الملك فقام الوزير مستقبلا لهم فجردوا خناجرهم عليه فقتلوه غيلة في داره وكان إنسانا كريم الطبع حرّا مرضي السيرة محمود الطريقة، فلما رأى الأمير ما جرى على وزيره ومشيره من القتل خاف على نفسه وأهله فخرج بالليل سرّا من البلد وهرب إلى شروان فلما كان من غد ليلته اجتمع أهل الباب

<sup>١</sup> ب - رئيس الرؤساء عنق (؟)

وتشاوروا فيما بينهم ووجهوا على بن أغلب الرئيس وأبا عبدالله بن عبد العزيز إلى شروان ليطييا قلب الأمير ليعود إلى مقره فقبض عليها شروانشاه واعتقلها في بعض قلاعه وعاد الأمير إلى الثغر وعمر القلعة وتحصن بها مع أهله وغلماؤه فخرج المفرج بن المظفر إلى شروان ليجلس مقام عمه فحبسه شروانشاه أيضا ثم أطلقهم جميعا بعد أخذ العهود على الطاعة للأمير عبد الملك، وفي سنة ٤٢٩ جاءت الشندانية باب مدينة الباب والثغر وأسروا منهم جماعة وقتلوا آخرين<sup>١</sup> وقتل من المسلمين أيضا جمع، وفي سنة ٤٣٠ قام الرئيس علي بن الحسن بن عنق بالخلاف فحاصر الأمير بالقلعة ثم قصد الشابران في جمع (A1059a) من أهل الباب ورجع منها خائباً، وفي (B735) هذه السنة ولد للأمير ولده منصور بن عبد الملك بقلعة الشابران، وفي سنة ٤٣٢ أخذت الخيداقية قلعة الباب وقبضوا (على) الأمير عبد الملك وحرّمه شمكويه وهدموا السور الوسطاني من القلعة، وفي هذه السنة خرج الرئيس علي بن الحسن بن عنق مع أهل الباب إلى غزاة شندان، وفي سنة ٤٣٣ خرج عبد الملك من الثغر إلى المحرقة مستوحشا من الرؤساء فقبض أهل الباب على حرمه شمكويه وأنفذوها إلى أخيها قباد شروانشاه، وفيها عاد عبد الملك إلى الباب ودخل البلد وخرج الرؤساء إلى كرك، وفي سنة ٤٣٤ عادت شمكويه من شروان إلى الباب وتوفي الأمير عبد الملك ليلة الجمعة لخمس بقين من رجب سنة ٣٤٣ وكانت مدة إمارته نحو تسع سنين .

§ 40 وأقيم بالإمارة ولده منصور بن عبد الملك بن منصور يوم الخميس لثلاث مضين من شعبان سنة ٤٣٤ وكان طفلاً ابن أربع سنين فبايعه<sup>٢</sup> الخاص والعام ورضي بإمارته الكبير والصغير والوضع والشريف وتولّى الأمر من قبله أبو الفوارس عبد السلام بن المظفر بن أعدل (ب - أغلب) الرئيس إلى أن توفي أبو الفوارس المذكور في سنة ٤٤٣ واستقل الأمير بأمره فوقع بينه وبين أهل البلد والرؤساء قتال في سنة ٤٤٦ يوم الثلاثاء النصف من ربيع الآخر ثم خرج الأمير منصور مع والدته شمكويه من البلد سرّاً ليلة الجمعة لخمس بقين من ربيع الآخر إلى المحرقة من باب الأبواب فجمع جمعا عظيما من الأبوابية والطبرسرانية وجاء غرة جمادى الأولى على باب الثغر محارباً فخرج من البلد الرؤساء والأعيان فوقع بينهم قتال شديد بباب فلسطين، فانكسر عسكر منصور وتّمّ أدخل الرؤساء وأهل الباب أخاه اللشكري بن عبد الملك البلد ليلة الأربعاء السادس

عشر من جمادى الآخرة وأنزلوه دار الإمارة وأعطوه ربحانة البيعة ورضي به الأعيان والرؤساء من أهل الثغر وبقي للشكري في الإمارة إلى أن قتل في داره غيلة ليلة الثلاثاء غرة ذي القعدة في سنة ٤٤٦ قتل غلمان أخيه منصور، وفي هذه السنة ولد للشكري المقتول هذا ولد بجيداق سمّي عبد الملك بن للشكري من امرأة خيداقية كان قد تزوّج بها، وفي ثاني ربيع الآخر من ٤٤٧ أدخل أهل الباب الأمير منصور بن عبد الملك الثغر بواسطة صاحب السريّر وجدّوا بيعته واستمرّ مغلوباً في أموره للرؤساء حتى كانت سنة ٤٥٦ واستنجد الأمير أهل الأطراف على الرؤساء فأنجذوه فجاءه جمع عظيم من الخيداقية وغيرهم فقام معهم وقاتل الرؤساء في عاشر محرّم السنة فال أهل الباب إلى الأمير وانقادوا له وانحرفوا من الرؤساء وفي هذه السنة جمع صاحب السريّر بتحريك الرؤساء جمّاً غفيراً من أهل الكفر وأجناس الترك فقصد فيهم الباب ونزل بهم بدمشق (دهنق، دهنق؟) لست بقين من جمادى الآخرة من سنة ٤٥٦ وأرسل عسكره مع طراختته وبطارقته إلى باب البلد وساقوا سرّح باب الجهاد فوقعت الصبيحة والنفير فركب (A1059b) الأمير منصور بن عبد الملك مع من تبعه من أصحابه وأعيان الصفوف ولمّا تقارب الجمعان لم يجسر أحد منها (على) الوثوب والهجوم على الآخر لكثرة أهل الكفر وجلادة أهل الإسلام مع قلّتهم إذ كان أهل الكفر (B736) يومئذٍ زائداً على أربعة آلاف فارس والمسلمون مائتي رجل من بين فارس وراجل فأنزّل الله النصر على المسلمين ووصل إليهم المدد نحو مائة رجل من طبرسران فهجموا على العدو واستردّوا منهم السرح وأبعدوهم عن الباب فرجعوا إلى صاحبهم صاحب السريّر خائبين وكان الرؤساء قد تقاعدوا عن الحرب يومئذٍ مع أتباعهم ولم ينقادوا للأمير بل كانوا هم المحرّكين للأعداء عليه فرجع صاحب السريّر خائباً بعون الله تعالى.

وفي هذه السنة يوم الجمعة لثلاث بقين من جمادى الآخرة توفّي الرئيس علي ابن الحسن بن عتق بالباب ودفن في داره يوم الأحد بعد العصر وكان قد ورث الرئاسة عن آبائه وأجداده وكان له صولة الملوك وهيبة السلاطين كان قد هابه الملوك والأمراء، نافذاً في أقواله منصوراً في حروبه، وكان ذا رأي وحزم وتدير، وبعد موته ضاقت الأمور على الرؤساء فخرج المفرج بن المظفر بن أغلب مع عشيرته وأهل بيته والرؤساء وغيرهم من الغلمان والأتباع إلى محرقة الباب في رجب السنة، ثم سار منها إلى ضياع بين النهرين فركب الأمير منصور مع أعيان الثغر وصعدوا إلى باب المحرقة فركب المفرج ومعه سائر الرؤساء وغلمانهم فاستقبلهم،

ولمّا التقى الجمعان انكسر الأمير منصور فنجا بحشاشة نفسه فبسبب هذا الشقاق هجمت الكفرة الغُمقية على قرى الباب فقتلوا كثيراً من أهلها المسلمين ونهبوا أموالهم ثم وضعوا الحراج على البقية وعادوا، وفي شعبان السنة أرسل الرؤساء غلمانهم فساقوا مواشي أهل الباب وأغاروا على الربض مرّة بعد أخرى ثم انتقل الرؤساء في رمضان من المحرقة إلى كرك من بلد الكز ووضعوا الأيدي على جميع ضياع المسقط وبين النهرين وضيقوا ثانياً الحصار على أهل الثغر بحيث كان لا يقدر أحد<sup>١</sup> على الدخول ولا الخروج، وفي أثناء ذلك تزوج الأمير بابتة علي بن الحسن بن عنق وكانت أمّ الست ابنة روم (بروم، زمزم؟) أمير الخيداقية واعتصد بغلمان أبيها فدافع بهم الرؤساء أياماً.

وفي هذه السنة أخذت اللاتية كثيراً من بلاد الإسلام، وفيها أيضاً جاءت بقية الخزر مقدار ثلاثة آلاف بيت إلى مدينة قحطان من بلاد الخزر فعمروها واستوطنوا فيها.

وفي سنة ٤٥٧؛ أمر الرئيس المفرج بن المظفر الهيثم بن ميمون رئيس الدبّاغين بأن يتوسّط في الإصلاح بينه وبين الأمير منصور بن عبد الملك ليعود إلى بيته ومسكنه مع عشيرته وأتباعه وأظهر بأنّه قد شاخ وكبر وندم على ما صدر منه ووبّخته نفسه على مقامه بين أهل الكز والتصعلك بعد الكبر والشيخوخة فقبل ذلك منه ظناً أن ذلك صدق ويقين السعي في إصلاح ذات البين وما علم ما في قلوبهم من الخلاف والبيّس، (A1060a) فبذل الهيثم مجهوده حتى أصلح البيّن وأتمّ الأمر فأجابه الأمير إلى \* مسؤوله فعفا عن الرؤساء وأمّتهم على أنفسهم وأموالهم وأتباعهم بالإيمان الصادقة والعهود الواثقة وخرج في محرّم السنة لاستقبالهم وأدخلهم البلد مكرّمين وحلقوهم أيضاً على عدم الغدر بالأمير وانقيادهم له فاعتمد الأمير على أيمانهم الكاذبة وعهودهم المزخرفة واطمأنّ بذلك، ولمّا كان يوم الأربعاء لثلاث بقين من صفر السنة أخرجوا الأمير معهم إلى المسقط ليمنعوا الاكراد \* من<sup>٢</sup> الدخول فيها والتزول في بيوت الاكرّة والمزارعين بها، وقطع أيديهم عن العبث والفساد، وانتَهز المفرج بن المظفر على الأمير منصور الفرصة يوم الأحد غرّة ربيع الأول من السنة فدخل عليه بضبيعة سامسويه من المسقط وهو على غفلة قد انتبه من رقدته جالسا على فراشه (B737) فضرّبه بالسيف والخناجر حتى قتلوه وأنفذوا بجثته إلى شروان ليدفن بها وكان عمره حينئذٍ خمساً وعشرين

<sup>١</sup> ١ - واحد. <sup>٢</sup> ٢ - عن.

سنة ومدّة إمارته ثلاثاً وعشرين وقيل ثمانى عشرة سنة ، وكان قتله يوم الأحد غرة ربيع الأوّل في سنة ٤٥٧ ولما قتله المفرج بن المظفر ومعه سائر الرؤساء من بيته وغلماهم ركبوا من ساعته ودخلوا الثغر على حين غفلة من أهله بعد أن مضى من الليل شطره فقبضوا على والدته شمكويه بنت يزيد وحبسوها وأغاروا على دار الإمارة وخربوها ثم أمروا غلماهم بنهب البلد فجرت فيه في تلك الليلة فتنة عظيمة لم يسمع بمثلها في تلك الديار قط.

41 § وفي هذه السنة بعد قتل الأمير منصور ولد ابنه ميمون بن منصور في دار ابن أبي يحيى الرئيس ، ولما قُتل منصور فتحت أبواب الفتن على كل جهة من الباب ، وشنّ الأكراد الغارة على المسقط وقُراهُ فعظم البلاء على أهل الباب وجمع شروانشاه جيشه فقصده فيها الباب لأخذ الثأر واستولى على المسقط وأخذه من أيدي البابية ثم أغار كربة بعد أخرى على سواد بلد الباب فخرج المفرج الرئيس إلى أرض السرير في جمادى الأولى والتجأ إلى صاحبه وقدم معه إلى دهق (دمشق ؟) من عمل الباب ، ثم خرج أعيان الثغور والرؤساء وصالحوه وبايعوا عنده عبد الملك بن الشكري بن عبد الملك وهو ابن ست سنين حينئذ ، وكان عند بيروز بن سكبان<sup>1</sup> الخيداني فبايعه المفرج بن المظفر أيضاً ، ثم عاد الرؤساء والأعيان مع عبد الملك بن الشكري إلى بلد الباب وأجلسوه على سرير الإمارة في دار أغلب بن على إلى أن يستقيم بالإمارة أمره وكان ذلك في جمادى الآخرة في سنة ٤٥٧ ، فقصده شروانشاه (الباب) فاجتمع الرؤساء وأخرجوا شمكويه بنت يزيد عمّة شروانشاه من الحبس وسلموها إليه مع أموالها وصالحوه فعاد منهم ، ثم أدخل المفرج ممّلاًن<sup>2</sup> بن يزيد عمّ شروانشاه البلد وأنزله في قصر أبي العباس ثم خرج معه ومع سائر الرؤساء الكرخية إلى المسقط يجمع الغلات فتزل بالمسقط واستنجد \* حمّاه صاحب السرير تقو بن فروج<sup>2</sup> \* فجاءه بنفسه نجدة له فاعتصم المفرج معه وأخرج الشراونة من المسقط واستفحل أمره بالاستيلاء على المسقط وفرّق عمّاله على قراها ثم سار مع صاحب السرير وعسكره من أهل الكفر إلى الشايران ليسخّرها فقاتله أهلها وكسروه فأسر المفرج مع جماعة من البابية والسريرية وحملوهم معتقلين إلى شروانشاه فحبسهم وعاد ممّلاًن إلى الثغر ثم أخرج منه بعد أيام (A1060b) وسلموا البلد إلى شروانشاه وخلعوا عبد الملك بن الشكري عن الإمارة وكانت مدّة إمارته ستة أشهر فعمّر شروانشاه قلعة الباب

<sup>1</sup> ب - فيروز بن السكبان. <sup>2</sup> ب - تقو بن فروج.



وشحنها بجنده ولما أخرج عبد الملك من البلد حمله بيروز بن سكتان (كذا) إلى خيداق فبقي الباب تارة يحكم عليه شروانشاه ونوابه وأخرى يتغلب عليه الرؤساء ومقدمهم المفرج بن المظفر بتقوية صاحب السرير لأن المفرج كان صهره على بنته.

42 § حتى أرسل السلطان ألب أرسلان السلجوقي لما دخل آذربيجان حاجبه شاورتكين (كذا) مع جمع من العسكر إلى الباب وسيّر معه أغلب بن علي رئيس الباب وكان محبوسا عند شروانشاه فأطلقه السلطان وسيّره مع شاورتكين فاستولى الأتراك على المسقط أولاً وخربوه وتسلموا القلعة من الشراونة وهدموا سورها الوسطاني وتسلموا البلد من الرؤساء وجعل شاورتكين أغلب بن علي نائبا عنه على الباب فعاد هو إلى خدمة السلطان، ثم وقعت فتنة بين أتباع أغلب (B738) وأصحاب المفرج بن المظفر فقتل من الطرفين خلق كثير وتكررت الفتنة إلى أن جاء عبد الملك بن الشكري يوم الثلاثاء لليلتين بقيتا من ذي الحجة من سنة ٤٦٠ ومعه أهل الأطراف وملوك الجبال فزلوا في ظاهر البلد على تلّ الفرسان فخرج جميع أهل الثغر مع المفرج بن المظفر وأغلب بن علي وأعيان الصفوف وشيوخ البلد فجدّوا البيعة لعبد الملك ثانيا وأمّروه على أنفسهم ونصّوا به<sup>1</sup> ثم أدخلوه الثغر وأنزلوه في العسكر بباب القلعة ثم قصد الشروانشاه الباب في محرم سنة ٤٦١ فجری بينه وبين عسكر عبد الملك من أهل الباب والخيداقية قتال مرّة بعد أخرى وكانت الدائرة على شروانشاه في كلّها ثم انحرف المفرج بن المظفر مع أتباعه إلى شروانشاه للمناسبة التي بينه وبين أغلب بن علي فانهزمت البابية بسبب ذلك وثبتت الخيداقية في الحرب ولما رأى البابية ثباتهم رجعوا إلى الحرب وهزموا الشراونة وقتل منهم خلق كثير ثم دخل المفرج قلعة الباب على حين غفلة من أهلها فتحصّن بها فقامت الحرب بين أتباعه وأتباع الأمير عبد الملك والرئيس أغلب وكانوا يحاربون كل يوم إلى أن توفي أغلب ليلة السبت سلخ صفر السنة وعمره ثمان وثلاثون سنة، فغلب المفرج واحتلّ نظام الأمير عبد الملك فهرب إلى خيداق ثانيا فقدم شروانشاه واستولى على الباب بلده وقلعته واستتاب بها ابنه أفريدون بن فريزر فعاد إلى شروان وحمل معه أكثر الرؤساء معتقلين.

43 § ثم وقع بين شروانشاه وبين صاحب أرتان نزاع على إمارة الباب فكان

<sup>1</sup> ولعله نصّبوه.

تارةً يغلب أحدهما فيُخطب له على منابر الثغر والباب وأخرى يتسلط الآخر فيُخطب له فخرّب أكثر سواد الباب بتزاعهما.

44 § ثم أرسل السلطان ألب أرسلان غلامه يغما التركي في سنة ٤٦٢ إلى الثغر عند \* عودته من غزو الروم فتسلم يغما البلد والقلعة من الشراونة وكان رئيس رؤساء الباب المفرج بن المظفر قد استولى على الجبل واستفحل أمره وكان مائلا إلى جانب شروانشاه ثم طلب أهل الباب بعد رجوع السلطان إلى العراق الأمير عبد الملك من خيDAQ وأدخلوه البلد وسلموا \* الإمارة إليه في سنة ٤٦٣ فاستمر يحارب الشراونة والحرب بينهم سجال ثم أخرجوه من البلد وسلموه إلى شروانشاه (A1061a) في سنة ٤٦٤ ثم أعادوه إليه ثم ردّوه إلى أن كانت سنة ٤٦٨.

45 § ففي محرّمها خلع أهل الباب بيعة الأمير عبد الملك وأخرجوه فخرج إلى خيDAQ على عادته ليعتضد بهم فيعود إلى الإمارة فتبعه البابية وأمسكوه وأجلسوه في مدينة الحميدية كالحبوس فباعوا ابن عمّه ميمون بن منصور بن عبد الملك يوم الخميس لحمس مضمين من محرّم سنة ٤٦٨ وأنزلوه في دار الإمارة وكان عمره إحدى عشرة سنة وفي صفر السنة مات الرئيس الهيثم بن ميمون رئيس الدباغين بالسقطة من ظهر دابّته.

46 § ثم ورد في جمادى الأولى من هذه السنة أحمد بن علي غلام أمير العراقيين من جانب السلطان رسولا إلى الباب وذكر أن السلطان جعل الثغر لشاوتكين فخطب له بعد السلطان على منابر الثغر وكانت مدّة إمارة ميمون نحو أربعة أشهر ولم نظفر بعد ذلك بأنّه عاد إلى الإمارة أولم يعد وهل تأمّر من بني هاشم بعد ميمون هذا أحد \* أو انقضت دولتهم والظاهر هو الانقراض.

47 § وهذا كلّ من قطعة تاريخ عربيّ ألف بباب الأبواب في حدود سنة ٥٠٠ والله أعلم.

(B739) الكلمة الثانية في المتأخرين من ملوك شروان الذى ينتهى نسبهم على زعمهم إلى أنوشروان العادل كسرى العجم.

وهم طبقتان طبقة لم يُعلم من رجالها غير الأسماء المجردة وطبقة علم بعض أحوال فنذكرهما في حرفين.

الحرف الأول منهم عددهم غير معلوم دار ملكهم شروان أول ظهورهم في سنة ؟ وانقراضهم في سنة ؟ ومدّة ملكهم سنة ؟.

48 § وأولهم غير معلوم فن علم بعض أحواله منهم هو منوچهر بن كسران بن

كاوس بن شهریار بن كرشاسف بن أفریدون بن فرامرز بن سالار بن یزید بن مزیدن (كذا) بن چون (كذا) بن مرزبان بن هرمزبن أنوشروان العادل كسرى العجم. كذا نسبة الغفاري في «جهان آرا» وطنّي أن أنوشروان هذا ليس أنوشروان الذي هو كسرى العجم بل شخصٌ مسمّى بأنوشروان من أولاد ملوك شروان المتقدمين الشيبانيين فليتمأمل.

§ 49 ومنوجهر هذا هو الملقب بخاقان وينسب إليه خاقاني الشاعر المشهور وله فيه قصائد بليغة وكان منوجهر هذا في حدود سنة ٥٥٠ ثم تولّى الملك بعده ابنه فرخزاد بن منوجهر ثم كشتاسف بن فرخزاد وإليه تنسب الملوك الكشتاسبية الساليانية ثم ابنه فرامرز بن كشتاسف ثم فرخزاد بن فرامرز ثم كيقباد بن فرخزاد ثم كاوس بن كيقباد فتوفي بعد مدة مديدة في حدود سنة ٧٧٤ ثم تولّى ابنه هوشنك بن كاوس وبقي نحو عشرين حتى توفي في حدود ٧٨٤ سنة وهو الذي أصلح ذات البين بين السلطان حسين الجلایري وأخيه السلطان أحمد لما هرب السلطان أحمد من خوف عادل آقا إلى أران فأصلح هوشنك بين الأخوين وهو آخر الطبقة الأولى ثم تولّى الملك بعده ابن عمّه الشيخ إبراهيم ابن السلطان محمد ابن كيقباد وهو أول الطبقة الثانية كما سيجيء.

الحرف الثاني في الطبقة الثانية وهم ؟ نفرودار ملكهم شروان وأول ظهورهم في سنة ٧٨٠ وانقراضهم في سنة ؟ ومدة ملكهم ؟ سنة ويقال لهذه الطبقة الدربنديّة أيضا.

§ 50 وأولهم الشيخ إبراهيم ابن السلطان محمد بن كيقباد بن فرخزاد بن كشتاسب بن فرخزاد بن منوجهر خاقان وباقي النسب قد مرّ آنفا تولّى الملك بعد عمّه هوشنك بن كاوس وكان هو والدة متواريين في بعض قرى شكّي خوفا من كاوس وهوشنك ومات أبوه (A1061b) متواریا وبقي الشيخ إبراهيم محتفيا إلى أن توفي هوشنك في سنة ٧٨٠ فأحضره أهل شروان وأمّروه على أنفسهم في التاريخ المذكور. هذا من «جهان آرا» للغفاري. وقال بعض المؤرخين إن الشيخ إبراهيم هذا وأباه وعشائره كانوا يسكنون في قرية من قرى شكّي من نواحي شروان يشتغلون بالفلاحة والزراعة ويدعون أنهم من أولاد أنوشروان العادل كسرى العجم وأن نسبهم يتصل إليه واتفق أن أهل شروان تضجّروا من ملكهم كاوس فاجتمعت كلمتهم على تقليد الملك للشيخ إبراهيم المذكور فساروا بالحوائج السلطانية مثل المطايا السلطانية والركاب الملوكية نحو إبراهيم فوجدوه قد حرث وتعب

فنام في طرف الحرث فوضعوا عليه الحركاه ووقفوا له من البعيد كهيفة الملوك ولم ينبّهوه فلما انتبه سلّموا عليه وبايعوا بالملك وجاءوا به إلى المدينة وأجلسوه على التخت فجعل يفتح البلاد ويعدل بين الرعايا ويؤلف القلوب ويحسن إلى الناس حتى عظم أمره واشتهر في الآفاق (B740) ذكره انتهى. وهذا يشبه قصص القصاص. وحضر الشيخ إبراهيم إلى خدمة الأمير تيمور لّما قصد الدّشت من طريق الدربند في سنة ٧٩٧ وعرض هداياه من كلّ جنس تسعة أشياء على ما هو رسم ملوك \* المغول فجعل الغلمان ثمانية ولّما سئل عن سببه لاطف في الجواب فقال أنا التاسع فوقع ذلك موقعا حسنا من تيمور وبالع في إكرامه والإحسان إليه وأضاف إلى ملكه ما يجاوره من البلاد وأعطاه منشور العهد والأمان وأوصى فيه إلى أولاده بالأمان على أولاده وكان الشيخ إبراهيم في خدمة تيمور في أكثر معاركه الشامية والرومية وفي سنة ٨٠٥ لّما غزا تيمور الكرج وأوقع فيهم إيقاعا عظيما عند عوده من الروم أرسل ملوك الكرج إلى الشيخ إبراهيم يلتمسون منه الشفاعة فيهم بمناسبة الجوار فتشفع الشيخ إبراهيم تيمور فيهم فقبل شفاعته وأمنهم بعد أخذ أموال عظيمة منهم. وفي سنة ٨١٥ قصده قرا يوسف صاحب آذربيجان واستنجد الشيخ إبراهيم ملك الكرج الكسندر (بن) بكراد فقدم بنفسه نجدة له فقاتلوا قرا يوسف فانكسروا منه بعد قتال شديد وأسر الشيخ إبراهيم والكسندر ملك الكرج مع ولده فقتل قرا يوسف الكسندر وولده صبّرا وخرب أكثر قرى شروان ونهب سوادها نهباً فاحشاً ثم عاد إلى آذربيجان وحمل معه الشيخ إبراهيم معتقلاً ثم افتدى الشيخ إبراهيم نفسه بأموال عظيمة فتخلّص من الأسر وعاد إلى ملكه وسعى في تعميره وتنظيم أموره إلى أن توفي في حدود سنة ٨٢١ وكانت مدّة ملكه أربعين سنة.

51 § فتولّى الملك بعده ولده السلطان خليل بن الشيخ إبراهيم فقصده إسكندر بن قرا يوسف في جمع من التراكمة في سنة ؟ ففتحى السلطان خليل من بين يديه فقات إسكندر في بلاد شروان وخربها كيف شاء وفعل بأهلها كل فساد قدر عليه بلا مانع حتى وصل إلى الدربند ثم عاد مع منهوبات وأسارى إلى آذربيجان فرجع السلطان خليل فأخذ في تعمير البلاد بالعدل والتّصقّة ثم خرج عليه إخوته كيقباد وإسحاق وهاشم في سنة ٨٢٨ فاستنجد السلطان خليل شاهرخ ميرزا ابن تيمور فبأنجاده وإمداده دفع شرّ الإخوة فصفت له المملكة وكان يحضر إلى خدمة شاهرخ كلّما قصد آذربيجان فزوّجه شاهرخ في سنة ؟ بابنة ميرزا أبي

بكر بن ميران شاه (A1062a) بن تيمور وقوي عضده بمدد شاهرخ وأولاده  
فعظم شأنه وعُمرت بلاده وطالت أيامه واستمر في الملك إلى أن توفي في  
سنة ٨٦٧ وكانت مدة ملكه سبعا وأربعين سنة وهو الذي قاتل عسكره الشيخ  
جنيد الصفوي فقتل الشيخ جنيد في المعركة وكان ذلك في سنة ٨٦٠.

52 § فتولى الملك بعده ابنه شروانشاه فرخ يسار بن خليل الله بن الشيخ  
إبراهيم وكان ملكا عادلا عاقلا وفي أيامه في سنة ٨٧٣ شتى السلطان أبو سعيد  
ميرزا بقراباغ وهو يريد قتال حسن بيك البائندري فأمدّه شروانشاه بإرسال الميرة  
والذخيرة إلى معسكره ثم خوفه حسن بيك وهدّده ففزع الميرة من عسكر السلطان  
فوقع قحط عظيم فغلب حسن بيك بذلك على السلطان فوقع ما وقع فأمن حسن  
بيك بلاد شروان وأهلها وأحسز (B741) إلى شروانشاه بإضافة بعض ما يجاوره  
إلى ملكه وفي أيامه استفحل أمر الشيخ حيدر بن جنيد الصفوي فقصد شروان  
مع عشرة آلاف مقاتل من أصحاب أبيه ومريديه في سنة ٨٩٣ فاستنجد شروانشاه  
صاحب العراقين السلطان يعقوب بن حسن بيك البائندري فأنجده بجيش مع  
سليمان بيك بيزن وقيل بيجن فسار شروانشاه معهم إلى قتال الشيخ حيدر فقاتله  
وهزمه وظفر به فقتله وحبس أولاده ثم سيرهم معتقلين إلى السلطان يعقوب  
فحبسهم السلطان كما سيجىء مآل أمرهم وبقي شروانشاه في الملك إلى أن قصده  
شاه إسماعيل الصفوي في أوائل سنة ٩٠٦ مع جمع عظيم من رفضة جيلان  
ومازندران فقاتلهم شروانشاه بقرب شماخي وانكسر منهم وقتل في المعركة وقيل  
أُسِر ثم قُتل صبرا وقتل إسماعيل كل من ظفر به من الشراونة اخذاً بثأر أبيه  
وجده وكانت مدة ملك شروانشاه فرخيسار نحو ثمان وثلاثين سنة.

53 § فتولى الملك بعده ولده بيرام بيك بن فرخيسار بن خليل الله ابن الشيخ  
إبراهيم وتوفي حثف أنفه في سنة ٩٠٧ بعد سنة من ملكه وكان إسماعيل قد  
استولى على آذربيجان في أيامه فعظم أمره.

54 § وتولى الملك بعده أخوه غازي بيك بن فرخيسار وبقي نحو ستة أشهر  
فخرج عليه ولده السلطان محمود بن غازي بيك وقتله غيلة في سنة ٩٠٨.

55 § فتولى الملك الولد العاق السلطان محمود بن غازي بيك وكان ظالما  
غشوما سفاكا أفاكا فلم يتمتع بالملك إلا أياماً حتى خرج الناس من طاعته  
وأرسلوا إلى عمّه الشيخ إبراهيم الشهير بشيخ شاه وكان يجيلان يدعونه إلى الملك  
ولمّا استشعر السلطان محمود بقدومه هرب إلى شاه إسماعيل الصفوي وكان صاحب

آذربيجان يومئذ فالتجأ إليه وأنجده شاه إسماعيل بطائفة من عسكره فسار السلطان محمود وحاصر عمه شيخ شاه بقلعة كلستان نحو ثلاثة أشهر واشتد الأمر على شيخ شاه فأفرج الله عنه بأن سلط على السلطان محمود مملوكه المدعو بقراييك وكان يميل إليه ويحبّه فقام قراييك وذبح مخدمه محمود على فراشه وبعث برأسه تحت الليل إلى شيخ شاه فسُرّ بذلك ثم خرج فيمن كان معه من العسكر وبيّت القزلباشية وكسرهم وفرّوا جميعهم وأسروقتل كثيرا منهم واستقر على الملك بعد ذلك الشيخ إبراهيم الشهير بشيخشاه بن فرخيسار وصالح شاه إسماعيل ولطفه وحضر عنده في سنة ٩٢٧ فأكرمه شاه إسماعيل غاية الإكرام (A1062b) وأعادته إلى ملكه مكرما واستمرّ في الملك نحو اثنتين وعشرين سنة بالعدل والإنصاف حتى توفي حتف أنفه في حدود سنة ٩٣٠ وكان ملكا عاقلا عادلا دينيا محسنا إلى العلماء مقربا لهم من نفسه وخلف سبعة أولاد ذكور.

56 § فتولّى الملك أكبر أولاده وهو السلطان خليل بن شيخشاه بن فرخيسار وكان السلطان خليل هذا متزوّجا بابنة شاه إسماعيل الصفوي واعتضد به ولم يقدر أحد من إخوته على مخالفته واستمرّ في الملك نحو اثنتي عشرة سنة حتى توفي يوم الجمعة السابع من جمادى الأولى في سنة ٩٤٦ ولم يُعقِب ولدا يصلح للملك.

57 § فتولّى الملك ابن أخيه شاهرخ بن سلطان فرخ بن شيخشاه بن فرخيسار وكان قد تسلط على شروان عسكر القزلباشية فأرسل (B742) شاه طهاسب بن اسماعيل جيشا مع أخيه \* القاص<sup>1</sup> ميرزا فأخذوا ما بقي من بلاد شروان يوم السبت السابع من ربيع الأول في سنة ٩٤٥ وأسروا شاهرخ وحملوا إلى طهاسب وحبسه ثم قتله في سنة ٩٤٦ وأقطع ولاية شروان لأخيه \* القاص ميرزا وقيل إن عسكر طهاسب حاصروا شاهرخ بقلعة شامخي نحو سبعة أشهر ولم يقدر على الظفر به حتى قدم طهاسب بنفسه في جيش عظيم وحاصره هو أيضا مدة ثم استنزله بالأمان والعهد ولم يف بعهد بل غدر به وحبسه أولا ثم قتله في التاريخ المذكور.

58 § ثم ظهر من ملوك شروان برهان علي سلطان بن السلطان خليل بن شيخشاه وهجم على شروان في جمع من العسكر في سنة ٩٥١ وقاتل \* القاص<sup>2</sup> فانكسر منه مرة بعد أخرى ثم التجأ من (\* عند) السلطان سليمان خان سلطان

<sup>1</sup> اوب القاب ميرزا. <sup>2</sup> ب - القاضى.

الروم وأمدّه بجيش ولّما قرب من شروان بلغه خبر كثرة القزلباشية عند القاص ميرزا فأذن لعسكر الروم في العود إلى مكانهم وسار هو إلى طاغستان وأقام فيها حتى قدم سلطان الروم السلطان سليمان خان إلى آذربيجان في سنة ٩٥٥ فلحق برهان علي سلطان بخدمته فأرسله السلطان مع جمع من العسكر فملك شروان بمددهم وبقي فيه واليا نحو سنتين فتوفي في حدود سنة ٩٥٨.

59 § فاستولى القزلباشية على شروان بعد وفاته وهرب ولده أبوبكر ميرزا بن برهان علي سلطان إلى طاغستان وكان صغيرا عند وفاة والده فحمله بعض أصحاب والده إلى طاغستان فبقي فيها نحو عشرين سنة ثم سار إلى بلاد چركس ومنها وصل إلى قريم في سنة ٩٧٨ فأكرمه دولتكراي خان غاية الإكرام وزوجه بابنته وعرض أحواله على العتبة العلية العثمانية فعيّن له رواتب كافية لمؤنته وبقي فيه إلى أن سار لالا مصطفى باشا إلى شروان في سنة ٩٧٨ فسار أبوبكر ميرزا معه إلى شروان ولما سخر الوزير المذكور تلك البلاد أقطعه إيالة جليلة منها فبقي فيها ولم نظفر بمآل أمره وحاله إلى الآن<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ثم يليه السطر التاسع في ذكر دول القرن التاسع.